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THE MISSIONARY CHURCH

THE MISSIONARY CHURCH

A STUDY IN THE CONTRIBUTION
OF MODERN MISSIONS
TO ŒCUMENICAL CHRISTIANITY

By

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FOREWORD BY
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FOREWORD

I CAN VERY seldom grant the frequent requests of authors that I should write a Foreword to their books. But in the case of this book I have been so closely associated with Prebendary Cash in dealing with both the administration and the problems of Christian Missions overseas and I am so strongly convinced that what he has written demands and deserves the attention of all Christian people that I must make an exception to my usual rule.

This is a book which ought to enlarge the mind, quicken the imagination, and stir the spirit of all who read it.

The author is using no exaggerated words when he writes that "we stand on the threshold of a new era in missionary work." The present century has witnessed the coming of age of new Churches among many races of the world and with this a quite new experience of unity in faith and purpose and a quite new impulse to make this unity a stage leading towards the ideal and visible union. The recent most remarkable Conference at Madras, in which some seventy nations were represented and of which this book has much to say, at once embodied and expressed the unity actually attained and the call for further and sustained efforts towards union.

All who care for the great cause of Christian Missions must henceforth cultivate a forward-looking mind and spirit. This book, written with great knowledge and experience and much eloquence, seems to me to be well fitted to give an inspiring direction to that forward look.

COSMO CANTUAR

Lambeth Palace,
July 18, 1939

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INTRODUCTION

THIS YEAR I complete thirty years in the service of the C.M.S. During that time my work has carried me to many parts of the world and has given me the opportunity of discussing missionary policy with people of different races and Churches. The more I study the missionary history of the nineteenth century and its achievement in the growing universal Church, the more I am convinced that what happened in the Evangelical Revival and the founding of missionary societies was part of God's purpose for the world, an unfolding purpose which we see more clearly to-day than our fathers did in 1799 when the C.M.S. started on its career. It seems to me, as is explained in this book, that God called forth this missionary expansion at a turning point in world history and as a preparation for this day in which we now live.

An invitation to deliver the James Long Lectures in 1939 gave the necessary incentive to set forth some of the results of my study in the following chapters, and the lectures as delivered were drawn from this material.

The book opens with apostolic Christianity and the motive for missionary service in the historic fact of the Incarnation. It follows the courses of some of the tributary streams in this river of God which have gone to the creation of the most world-wide expansion of Christianity in history. These appear as we trace out seemingly unconnected events in Germany, America, and England in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The book strikes a note of faith and hope because

the fact of God having called His Church into being in over seventy countries of the world is a sure evidence of His planning and working. Instead therefore of looking to the future with apprehension and fear we can rejoice that we are called to service in such days of opportunity. The point I seek to make throughout is this: that God is at work and is taking the initiative in leading His Church to larger service. The Church is summoned to find the will of God for its task and to fulfil it in obedience and faith, knowing that "the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."

Between these two epochs of the rise of modern Missions and the emergence of the younger Churches to-day lies a story, and this I have attempted to relate—very inadequately I fear—for it is one of the epics of human history. Because of my links with the C.M.S. I have illustrated my theme throughout from the work of my own society. This does not imply any lack of appreciation of the work of other societies for we are all part of a living whole, co-ordinated through a strong co-operation though not as yet united into one organic body.

After tracing the origins of Missions I turn to an examination of the work in three great areas, India, Africa, and the Far East. Only sufficient history is related to illustrate the principles of missionary expansion. We go back into the past to ask why Christianity once flourished in part of the Near East and then completely died out, why the Church planted in India long years ago stagnated until the modern phase of Missions brought a quickening breath to India, why early Christianity in China is marked to-day by nothing more than a stone monument. Will the future pronounce a similar verdict on our work, or will that work become so strong

that neither persecution nor assaults will be able to prevail against it? Has Christianity come again to the eastern world to stay?

A study of the areas I have selected makes it abundantly clear that the chief contribution to "foreign Missions" as we know them has been the founding of the Church. Missions that have had the patience to go slowly, to be content to let the Church grow rather than to seek quick or spectacular results are being rewarded to-day in the self-propagating evangelistic service of these very Churches, which are expanding, as we shall see, at a far greater rate than would ever have been possible by Missions from abroad alone, even with double or treble the missionary strength. Missions that have no conception of the Church as a living organism of divine origin, created by God to act in a corporate capacity, will ultimately have little to show for their labours, for a study of this period shows I believe, not only that the calling out of the Church was the outstanding service of foreign Missions but also that it was the primary purpose of God in bringing these Missions into being.

There is thus reason for planning the book in two parts. In Part I the emphasis falls on Missions and their growth, and in Part II upon the Church, its functions and its future. The first part closes with a study of the method adopted by the Church of England of working overseas through missionary societies as its accredited agencies; and the second part opens with a study of the Church, what we understand by it, and how it functions to-day. Accepting as a fact that the Church is an organism and not merely an organization we turn to a study of three aspects of the Church's activities. The first is the witness of the Church. This chapter deals with

witness in the Churches of certain missionary areas. It is impossible to deal with the whole subject for this would be a study in itself. Secondly, the economics of the Church and self-support are discussed, to ascertain if possible the particular help and contribution which the older Churches should continue to give to the younger, and to suggest what may be expected of the younger Churches in their own support. Thirdly, we examine the "Churches" and the "Church," and the demand for closer co-operation which entails a study of the movement, so evident in all mission fields, for co-operative action in education, evangelism, literature, and many other aspects of the work. The chapter is illustrated from the conference held at Tambaram, Madras, in December, 1938.

As is implied in its title, the closing chapter is an attempt to look into the future and to see some of the features which are likely to mould the Church in the years immediately ahead of us.

From many sides and with great insistence comes the challenge to the Church to show reason why it should exist at all; and equally urgent therefore should be the call to Christian people everywhere to accept that challenge boldly and fearlessly, firm in the conviction that God, Who called His Church into being, has still His purpose in the world to fulfil through it. However much we may have failed in the past and may be lacking in our duty to-day, the Church is still the world's one hope of peace, of international goodwill, of social justice and righteousness, because it is based on standards and expresses values that are of universal application. The Church has, in fact, through this missionary movement, become once more œcumenical.

W. WILSON CASH

PART I

MISSIONS YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY

CHAPTER I

MISSIONARY MOTIVES AND ORIGINS

SYNOPSIS

I

Christ alone the impelling reason for the expansion of Christianity. In the days of His flesh He attracted men to Himself. He offered Himself as the Way, the Truth, the Life. He commissioned His apostles and committed to them the future of His Church. Apostles uncompromising where Christ is concerned; preached the story of the Cross and the Resurrection, and caught the vision of a Kingdom world-wide, universal, everlasting.

II

The Church, the corporate witness to Christ, not an end in itself, the divine instrument for the reconciliation of the world to God. The Church in a hostile world displayed the spirit of Christ. It lived and worked because "Christ is Lord."

III

Initiative in religious movements is from God. History shows the expansion of the Kingdom as due to movements of the Spirit. The state of the Church in the eighteenth century. Simultaneous movements, without human connexion, in different countries, yet all with a common object to extend the Kingdom: Moravians in Germany; Methodists in England; Carey and the Baptists; Williams-town students in America; C.M.S., B.F.B.S., C.M.J. Church at dawn of nineteenth century again faced a hostile world. Commissioned anew and laid foundations of modern missionary enterprise.

IV

Out of spiritual awakening had come the C.M.S. Why another missionary society? Policy and early days of the C.M.S.—a church society, its evangelical character, its vision for the future. Early co-operation with other societies within the Church and with Free Churches.

CHAPTER I

DAMASCUS IS PROBABLY the oldest city in the world. It has been the meeting place and the battle ground of three great religious systems. Imperial Rome decreed for her empire what gods should be worshipped, and erected in this city a pagan temple. But this was not the last word. A new element was introduced when Christianity was brought to Damascus, and proclaimed, in defiance of the Cæsar-worship of the day, that Jesus Christ is Lord. Ultimately this vital, challenging faith triumphed, and the pagan temple became a Christian church.

Christianity as represented in its world movement has ever accepted this challenge of other gods, not because missionaries, whether St. Paul, St. Patrick, St. Francis, or David Livingstone, have sought merely to impose upon a pagan world a new faith; but rather because the Gospel, as we understand it, has its springs and origin in the Eternal, in a love that breaks through from the Unseen into a material world, in a Life that permeates all life with reality, which is in fact the nearness and the presence of God among us. The whole meaning of the Church has been built around the fact of God, the Living God, revealed in Jesus Christ. We can only approach the question of Christian witness and the universal message of the Gospel as we get back beyond ourselves and our needs, beyond the bounds of time itself, and realize anew that the *raison d'être* of Christianity is this fact that God reigns, and must ever reign supreme and unique, and that His reign is realized in the fellowship and worship

of His Church. What is the bearing of this thought on the Church's story down the ages?

As the centuries passed, the Church lost its vitality and its witness, and suddenly it had to face the challenge of a new creed. Islam swept through Syria and into Damascus, and the Christian church, once a pagan temple, now became a Moslem mosque. Roman paganism, Christianity, and Islam have all left their mark upon this historic site.

Some years ago when on a visit to Damascus I climbed on to the roofs of some shops which are built against the south wall of the mosque, and here I was able to decipher for myself the famous Greek inscription: "Thy Kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting Kingdom, and Thy dominion endureth for all generations." It is cut deep in bold lettering, and proclaims as a sermon in stone the everlasting Kingdom of Christ.

How strange it seemed that on a Moslem mosque there should be this Christian inscription, but the answering challenge came as I stood there, for it was the Islamic hour of prayer. From mosques all over the city and from the minaret of the very building I was examining there rang out in clear accents: "There is no god but God." The mute message of the stone proclaimed in unmistakable terms the everlasting Kingdom of Christ, and the loud and clear call summoned all true believers of Islam to come to prayer because Mohammed is the prophet of God.

The story of the persistence of the inscription for so many years can be told in a few words. In the eighth century the old church was partly demolished and a new mosque was built, but the south wall with its inscription was left intact. In the eleventh century part of the

mosque was destroyed by fire but this Christian message remained, and in the rebuilding the south wall became a wall of the new mosque, and through all these centuries with their varying fortunes the inscription was uninjured and there it is to-day, a witness to the eternal fact: "Thy Kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting Kingdom."

Damascus has indeed had a remarkable history. The walls over which the Apostle to the Gentiles was let down in a basket are the very walls which were scaled by invading Arabs in the seventh century, and later still in the same city the famous Saladin was buried. Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Jews met there, and there too Christians and Moslems, Crusaders and Saracens fought. But above the clash of arms and the wrangles of creeds, the silent witness bore eloquent testimony. "Thy Kingdom . . . is an everlasting Kingdom." As we stand in this twentieth century outside the mosque we pause and ask ourselves whether, after all, those words echo but a beautiful sentiment or whether they proclaim a faith which has been tested by time and proved to be true. They bring us first of all face to face with the fact of Christ. The Kingdom stands or falls by Him. If He is the Eternal Son of God then the Kingdom must win in the end.

I

Through the ages the figure of Christ has not grown dim. He is still yearning for the hearts of men and offering to nations and peoples a way of life which will bring redemption and peace. From the first the Church has grown because of its experience of the living Christ. Down the ages, from the time of St. Paul to the present

day Christ and He alone has been the one impelling motive for the world expansion of Christianity. The Church has never had any other message to offer for its world-wide witness than this fact of the living Christ. In Him lies the whole impulse of the missionary enterprise. He is now as ever both the inspiration of the believer and the source of all authority and power in the Church.

In the days of His flesh we see Him drawing men to Himself. He places Himself in the very heart of His teaching. He speaks of Himself as the Light, the Way, the Truth, the Life, the Bread of Life. He is the Good Shepherd and the Vine. He promises that prayer in His Name will be answered. He invites men to trust Him as they never trusted any one before. He covenants, as they embark upon His service, to be ever with them, and through His Spirit to inspire, guide, and direct them. He commissions them for the great task entrusted to them, and to His little band of followers He commits the entire future of His Church in the world.

To the apostles Christ did not merely teach truth, He was the Truth. They never compromised on this fact, nor did they, to avoid persecution and isolation, adopt the easy and popular method of adapting Christianity to a syncretistic faith. To them Christ was not one of the many ways to God but "the Way." His place was unique and could not be shared with any rival prophet, teacher, or system. He stood out incomparable and final—God's revelation to man.

As the light has shone, its very intensity has but revealed the surpassing beauty of the character of our Lord. Dr. Lecky says:—

It was reserved for Christianity to present to the world an ideal character which, through all the changes of eighteen centuries, has inspired the hearts of men with an impassioned love, has shown itself capable of acting on all ages, nations, temperaments, and conditions, has been not only the highest pattern of virtue, but the strongest incentive to its practice, and has exercised so deep an influence that it may be truly said that the simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate and soften mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers and all the exhortations of moralists. This indeed has been the well-spring of whatever is best and purest in the Christian life. Among all the sins and failings, amid the priestcraft and persecution and fanaticism that have defaced the Church, it has preserved in the character of its Founder an enduring principle of regeneration.¹

There is an uncompromising attitude in the New Testament where the honour of Christ is concerned. St. Paul would rather face the hatred of the Jew and the scorn of the Greek than withdraw or weaken his message: "We preach Christ crucified." He was well aware that he was proclaiming what was a serious stumbling block to the evangelization of the Jew and an object of ridicule to the Greek, but he knew, too, that Christianity without the Cross could not have survived. So sometimes in the mission fields to-day comes the temptation to seek a short cut by popularizing the person of Christ, but such attempts defeat their own ends because they ignore our Lord's own demand upon us. He forbid all rival claims

¹ *History of Morals*, vol. ii, p. 9.

to Himself. Nothing—neither patriotism nor home ties, nor personal nor family considerations were to be allowed to come before Him. “He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me.” For Him there could be no divided loyalty. “No man can serve two masters.”

Nor is the message of Christ governed by the conditions of any one age. He stood before men, the Eternal Christ with a gospel for all ages and for every race. His message could not be forced into a Jewish mould, nor could His law be subservient to the totalitarian rule of Rome. He was not offering the world a new form of civilization but what He did offer was a way of redemption for the whole human race. “The sacred writings show the fact of a celestial institution finally erected on earth, which is fitly called the Kingdom of God because it shows Him reigning as a Regenerator and a Restorer of a broken order of the world.”¹ Out of the intensely personal demands of Christ: “Come unto me,” “Follow thou me,” “Learn of me,” there has come the fellowship of believers pledged to fulfil His mission. And what a mission! It is nothing less than “to recreate the human race and restore it to God in the unity of a spiritual Kingdom. “To Jesus alone, the simple Galilean carpenter, it happens that, never having seen a map of the world in His life or heard the names of half the great nations in it, He undertakes, coming out of His shop, a scheme as much vaster and more difficult than that of Alexander, as it proposes more and what is more divinely benevolent. This thought of a universal kingdom, cemented in God—why, the immense Roman empire of His day, constricted by so many ages of war and conquest, is a bauble

¹ *The Character of Jesus*, Horace Bushnell, p. 1.

in comparison, both as regards the extent and the cost! And yet the rustic tradesman of Galilee propounds even this for His errand, and that in a way of assurance, as simple and quick, as if the immense reach of His plan were, in fact, a matter to Him of no consideration."¹ Apostles of every age have proclaimed: "Thy Kingdom is an everlasting Kingdom."

II

It was one thing for the first apostles to centre their own faith personally in Christ, but it was a very different matter for them to set forth to convert the world. The events which had happened in Palestine must have become widely known, and many had been eyewitnesses both of the life and crucifixion of our Lord. Bewildered at first, they scoffed at the idea of the resurrection of one who had been condemned and crucified. It seemed an idle tale, and in Athens, we are told, men were mildly tolerant. But as the meaning of the stupendous claim came to be understood it was clear that if Christ were accepted as Lord and His teaching obeyed by the people the whole standard of values upon which imperial Rome had built her greatness would be challenged. As the Cross was uplifted, imperial domination, and with it the creed that might is right, crashed to pieces; slave ownership, sex licence, and the moral evils of the day were incompatible with the new standards. The Cross, the place of defeat and shame, became the symbol of a new faith which withered selfishness, broke down racial barriers, and proclaimed a new way of life, the way of love made actual in the lives of men and nations through

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 45.

the power of Christ's resurrection. There was no question whether the Church would undertake missionary work or would be missionary-hearted, for from its inception it was never regarded as an end in itself. It existed as the divine instrument for the reconciliation of the whole world to God.

The Church as we see it in the New Testament is not simply a human organization but a community of which Jesus Christ is the living Lord. On this one fact, as has already been said, the entire missionary enterprise depends.

“The Christian faith is not merely that events which took place in Palestine more than nineteen centuries ago have been the source of spiritual influence which have had a profound effect on the life of mankind. That is an indubitable historical fact. But the Christian faith expressed in the doctrines of the Incarnation and the Atonement means more than this. It implies that those events changed fundamentally the relations between God and man and instituted a new era in human life. History now possesses a centre. From this centre it derives its ultimate meaning. This belief has even determined man's reckoning of time. Our chronology divides history into the period which preceded and that which follows the birth of Christ.”¹

As our Lord faced the Cross He said: “Be of good cheer; I have overcome the world,” and this note of triumph runs all through the New Testament. “Thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory,” cries St. Paul. He and his colleagues set out to win the world, and as they proclaimed their message imperial Rome arose in its wrath to stamp out a faith which demanded of men an

¹ *The Church and its Function in Society*, p. 103.

allegiance superior to their loyalty to the emperor. But the Roman emperor discovered what all dictators from Nero to Hitler have learnt, namely, that the Christian spirit cannot be broken.

We see, therefore, this first witness to the Gospel rooted in an experience of the living Christ, intensely personal, but always leading men into a new knowledge and discovery of God and into a new relationship of fellowship and goodwill with one another. From the Day of Pentecost we see the emergence of the Church with its divine mission to the world. The argument for foreign Missions is identical with the argument for Christianity. Either Christ is for all or for none. Either the Church lives up to the purpose of its existence and fulfils its task or it dies.

A study of the early Church shows us how great was the emphasis upon the person of our Lord and upon the fact that He is alive and active in the affairs of men. He is the supreme Lord, not only of the individual Christian but of His Church. It also makes clear that the Church is not merely a corporate body, man-designed, by which Christians seek to live in fellowship with one another, but is of divine origin, the Body of Christ, through which He works for the fulfilment of His purposes for the world. It is no part of our plan in this book to trace the varying fortunes of the Church down the centuries. Suffice it to say that what lay at the heart of the Christian message when the apostles began to proclaim their great evangel has been proved in every age to be the faith by which men have lived and is still the faith of the Church—"Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever." Dr. J. H. Oldham expresses this in a beautiful passage:—

The controlling factor in Christian decision is the truth expressed in the earliest Christian confessions: Christ is Lord. Christian faith, we cannot remind ourselves too often, is the grateful and glad acknowledgment of a reality. Only if it has an objective and unalterable centre has it power to move the world. It finds its simple but adequate expression in the confession: "Christ is Lord." This is the source, centre, and end of Christian action; the ultimate touchstone of what is Christian and what is not Christian.¹

III

Since St. Paul first blazed a trail for the Gospel across Asia Minor and into Europe the Church has witnessed many vicissitudes. It would be an interesting though difficult task to assess its losses and gains down the centuries. There have been times when great areas of Christendom have been lost to the Church as, for instance, when millions of people transferred their allegiance from Christ to Mohammed in the early days of Islam. There have been occasions when the Church has had before it open doors and wonderful opportunities for expansion and has failed, as in the thirteenth century when the Mongols under Kublai Khan sought for Christian instruction. The failure of the Church to respond to that call cost it very dear in subsequent years when a section of the Mongols who moved westward were captured by Islam. Losses such as these cannot be estimated except as they are seen in the perspective of a long period of history. If our optimism were dependent merely upon human factors or a calculation of losses and gains, we

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

might well be plunged into despair, but the grounds of our hope are elsewhere. They are in God.

This is a statement which requires elucidation, otherwise it is a mere platitude. History shows at different periods spiritual movements which appear to spring up in different countries almost simultaneously and to all outward appearances unrelated to one another. For example, one result of the expansion of Islam into Europe was the Renaissance, which largely took a pagan form and led to the secularizing of a people who had hitherto been steeped in religion. But the New Learning which opened men's minds to fresh thought revealed in its turn the weakness of this philosophy which had in it no place for God, and there followed the Reformation. Dr. Lindsay says on this point:—

History knows nothing of revivals of moral living apart from some new religious impulse. The motive power needed has always come through leaders who have had communion with the unseen.¹

Behind all there is this factor of "the motive power." In the first century the apostles discovered such a power in the living Christ, but what I wish to urge is that as we study the history of the Church we see that in spite of its failures God has been working through it, inspiring men and women to do and to dare for His Kingdom. The initiative in all great religious movements as we see them down the centuries has been of God not of man. God planned and worked; men heard a call and followed in obedience. They accomplished great things for God because He was their inspiration and life. We see this illustrated in the life work of such men as St. Patrick,

¹ *History of the Reformation*, vol. i, p. 190.

Ulfilas, Ramon Lull, John Wycliffe, Luther, and a host of others.

Thus we come to the eighteenth century which is really our starting point. We find the Church once again in decline and decay. The Reformation had not resulted in any world-wide evangelization of non-Christian peoples. England and other countries passed through political revolution and religious upheaval, and finally settled down to interpret their faith in terms of a national religion. "Can these dry bones live?" was the question that was being asked. The founding of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in 1698 and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in 1701 were events in the history of the religious life of England of profound significance, for they proved that in spite of the prevailing tendencies in Church and State there were still those who thought in terms wider than their own country, and who sought to serve the Church on a world scale. In 1706, almost simultaneously with the founding of these two English societies, the Danish Mission to India came into being, and in 1743 David Brainerd had begun his devoted work among the American Indians. These and kindred movements on the continent of Europe were among the first signs of a spiritual awakening.

An event of still wider importance, though at the time seemingly insignificant, was the founding of the Moravian Missions at Herrnhut in 1732. The Moravians, after years of persecution, had trekked at the invitation of Count Zinzendorf from Moravia to Saxony where they were given land for farming on his own estate. It was under his leadership that these devout, simple-hearted peasant folk were led to achieve such wonderful things

for the Kingdom of God. When they were assembled for worship on a certain day in 1727 the Holy Spirit fell on them and as the record says: "they were baptized into one body." They entered into an experience of God hitherto unknown among them, and they at once felt that God had given them this revelation of His love and power because He had some special service for them to perform. Out of this quickening in 1727 came the call to these peasant folk to evangelize the world. They had no resources and from the human standpoint the proposal seemed absurd, but they called for volunteers for a mission to the West Indies to help the black slaves of the islands. Two young men offered to go, but when the plans seemed to have matured a difficulty arose. There were only two classes of people in the West Indies, slave owners and slaves. What would be the status of these young men? To become slave owners was impossible, for it was incompatible with the Christian faith. They decided that if it proved to be the only course open to them they would be willing to become slaves that they might win slaves for Jesus Christ.

The story of the conversion of John Wesley through a Moravian missionary is too well known to require retelling here, but the fact must be noted because it forms an important link in the sequence of events we are considering. Of the Evangelical Revival which swept through England as a result of Wesley's preaching John Richard Green says:—

In the middle class the old piety lived on unchanged, and it was from this class that a religious revival burst forth, which changed in a few years the whole temper of English Society. The Church

was restored to life and activity. Religion carried to the hearts of the poor a fresh spirit of moral zeal, while it purified our literature and our manners. A new philanthropy reformed our prisons, infused clemency and wisdom into our penal laws, abolished the slave trade and gave the first impulse to popular education.

And so we see the stream widening and growing in volume. An unknown group of men in South Germany with a blazing passion for souls helped John Wesley into a new experience of God. Wesley and others set England on fire through an intensive personal evangelism, which led to far-reaching social reforms in England and to a new discovery by the Church of the world mission of Christianity. The call to missionary service had come, and again we notice the same principle at work, for no single source is responsible for the founding of the modern missionary enterprise.

William Carey published in 1792 *An enquiry into the obligations of Christians to use means for the conversion of the Heathen*. In this remarkable treatise Carey traversed a wide sweep of history. He gathered statistics of world population classified by races and religion. He called special attention to the needs of South America, New Guinea, and many parts of Asia, of New Zealand (of which he had read in Captain Cook's book), and of Africa, and he concludes his survey by saying: "All these things are loud calls to Christians." He then proceeded to lay down plans for the practical steps to be undertaken. His famous maxim has inspired men ever since: "Attempt great things for God. Expect great things from God." A year later William Carey sailed for India to

lead the way in the great crusade of the Gospel in Asia.

Across the Atlantic the same conviction of the world's need was pressing upon the consciences of Christian people in New England. In 1806 a group of students in Williamstown, Massachusetts, were on their way to a prayer meeting when they were overtaken by a severe thunderstorm and took shelter under a haystack. On this spot they began to pray. They were a group of ordinary university students, but that day was the turning point in their lives and through them were founded the Protestant Missions in America. Sheltering under the haystack, these young men discussed together the moral darkness of Asia, and in prayer sought God's guidance as to what they ought to do. They pledged themselves to prayer and service, and soon found themselves called upon to arouse the Churches to support a new forward movement. These young men were the fruits of a spiritual revival in New England. They were by no means the first in America to undertake foreign Missions, but revival and the beginning of missionary effort in America itself led to the appeal by Mills and his friends for a new advance into Asia. Mills was the leader of the band, and when challenged by one of his friends as to whether they were not premature in their enterprise, he replied: "We can do it if we will."

The haystack of course soon disappeared, but in its place there is to-day a stone column surmounted by a globe. On the column are engraved the words:—

The Field is the World
The Birthplace of
American Foreign Missions
1806.

Below this inscription are the names of the five men who joined in that historic prayer meeting and above it is carved a representation of the haystack.

Thus the stream continues to widen. A group of farmers in South Germany founds the Moravian Missions, a cobbler in the Midlands of England stirs people to start the Baptist Missionary Society, John Wesley and his followers inaugurate a movement which leads ultimately to the formation of the Methodist Missionary Society. These and many kindred movements were all tributaries pouring their contributions into the main stream which may appropriately be labelled the World Mission of Christianity.

But in all this, what of the Church of England? We have already seen how at an earlier date the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. were founded, the latter under a royal charter. Their task throughout the eighteenth century was indeed difficult. While Bishop Butler of Durham was plunged into the depths of despair and had declined the primacy because he believed it was too late to save the Church of England, the country was being evangelized by John Wesley and George Whitefield.

Out of the Evangelical Revival came a number of organizations, including the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Church Missions to Jews, and the Church Missionary Society. It is not my purpose to retell the story of the founding of the C.M.S., but rather to recall certain facts and principles which were basic in its inception and have been worked out over a period of 140 years.

First of all, may we not see in the C.M.S., to-day the largest Anglican missionary society in the world, one of the tributary streams to the river of God, a movement

called into being by Him for a specific task and with a distinctive emphasis. These simultaneous movements in many parts of the world have their counterpart in great historic events of the past, and seen in the light of subsequent history are all proved to be parts of a common plan, interlocking with one another, inspired and guided by the one Spirit and destined to be God's instrument for a world-wide evangelization which has swept across every continent and which has prepared the way for the day in which we live.

This theme will develop as our story proceeds, but the fact we now desire to press is that in the history of modern Missions we see the hand of God leading His Church to reclaim territory lost centuries ago, to roll away the reproach which rests upon Christendom through its unfaithfulness in the past, and to a great advance in the present day of opportunity in the conquest of the world for Jesus Christ.

A new era in the Christian Church was dawning and surprising things were happening. In apostolic days the Church was disturbed by the action of St. Peter in going to Cornelius. What eventually convinced the elders in Jerusalem that he was right was the manifest working of the Holy Spirit in the house at Cæsarea, for the record tells us that "the Holy Spirit fell on all them which heard the word." They received the Spirit before baptism, but we say that the times were exceptional, and it would be unsafe to deduce from this that Church order need not be maintained. True, but it should be remembered that at the close of the eighteenth century the times again were abnormal, a new age was commencing which was to alter the whole face of the globe, change social life, industrialize the western world, remould the cultures of

nations and peoples, and in fact create one of the greatest revolutions of all time. Let it not be forgotten therefore that at this critical juncture in world history God broke through into the life of our nation in spiritual quickening and awakening that led to a new moral level in our national life and to world service by the Church. The simultaneous movement of the Industrial Revolution and the Evangelical Revival are not accidents of history. The new material world coming to the birth was paralleled by a new missionary enterprise. To-day we recognize the hand of God in this period of our history. But how strange it all was at the time and how seemingly unrelated and unco-ordinated. The Moravians in Germany, a group of students in America, a Baptist cobbler, an itinerant preacher, an Evangelical movement, and the founding of such organizations as the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Church Missions to Jews, and the Church Missionary Society. To the last of these we now turn our attention.

IV

The S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. were both doing splendid work, but their hands were already full with existing commitments and they had to confine their efforts mainly, though not entirely, to the work for which they had been primarily founded, namely, that among our own people overseas. There was, therefore, a growing demand for a society as definitely a part of the Church of England as the other two organizations, but with its major emphasis upon work for and among the non-Christian races of the world. That the C.M.S. was founded in no spirit of mere rivalry with other societies is seen from the fact that it was commenced at a period

of grave economic difficulties in our nation, when the Church and the Press were very sceptical of the possibility of "the evangelization of the heathen," and when the starting of such work involved personal sacrifice to all who joined the Committee and grave responsibilities as the calls came to them from various parts of the world. The fact is that the C.M.S. came into being because of a keenly felt and strongly expressed need for such an organization. Those who took a leading part in the founding of the Society were such clergy as Charles Simeon of Cambridge and John Venn of Clapham. There were city merchants and bankers, a solicitor, an upholsterer, a sculptor, a surgeon, a tea broker, and others, all of whom felt the call to express their faith in a fresh effort to evangelize "the heathen."

The question arises whether or not an unofficial group of church people could act in this independent way and still claim to represent the Church, for it may be urged and urged rightly that they represented no one but themselves. But if they had waited for the Church to act officially a great deal of the evangelization of the eastern world might never have been done. The Church of England would certainly have been weakened and whole countries would have been left without the Gospel. This is not necessarily a criticism of the Church. It is simply the statement of a historic fact that many great movements of spiritual power and vision have come out of the heart of the Church, but not through a thought-out policy of its official leaders. It was thus that Bohemia found new life through John Huss, that England received the Gospel through Wycliffe and others, that the Bible was translated into the English vernacular, that St. Francis founded his order in the teeth of bitter opposition in

Assisi, and Luther won through in the face of difficulty when he roused the lay forces of Germany to the recapture of liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment. These and scores of other movements have surged up out of the Church from time to time. Sometimes the heads of the Church have been leaders with vision, who have recognized the value of the new movements to the Church and have acknowledged them. Thus the Roman Church officially recognized the Franciscans, and the Anglican Church the C.M.S. and other kindred organizations. And it should be noted in passing that wherever wide movements such as this missionary enterprise are launched it is always because lay people in sufficient numbers are behind them. They demonstrate afresh the fact that by the Church is not meant only the clergy but the whole body, ordained and lay.

It is nevertheless important to note that although the C.M.S. began without the official recognition of the Church, the Society would have been still-born if the Church had not wanted it. It depended from the outset upon the voluntary contributions of church people, and it has grown as the Church by financial and other support has enabled it to do so. It has had no existence apart from the Church, and its basis of membership has been both wide and democratic. From the first it was made as easy as possible for all clergy, irrespective of party allegiance, to become voting members of its General Committee.

It was because the C.M.S. grew as the Church supported it, because its policy was dictated by church people, clerical and lay, democratically elected, that it came eventually to receive the approval of the Church

officially, and to be recognized along with the older societies such as the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. as an agency of the Church, and as such was listed with other Anglican organizations for equal recognition.

The C.M.S. was founded unequivocally as a church society. The early records make this abundantly clear. In fact the Society was criticized by Free Church people because of its strong church character. One Free Church publication writing of this period says: "The stricter Anglicans who did not care to co-operate with the non-conformists established in 1799 the Church Missionary Society." The founders of the C.M.S. made their churchmanship crystal clear from the beginning because they did not believe that missionary work overseas could be rightly based, particularly when the stage of Church building was reached, unless it was founded upon definite Church order. The C.M.S. therefore accepted and always has accepted as its basis the faith and order of the Church of England.

It is often emphasized that the C.M.S. is definitely an Evangelical society, and the question has been asked as to what limitations are thus imposed on its membership within the Church of England. Let it be said at once that there is nothing in the foundation rules of the Society which restricts its membership to any particular school of thought within the Church, nor is there anything in the statement issued by those who were responsible for the formation of the C.M.S. to show that they ever contemplated a party society. The founders had all received spiritual help directly or indirectly through the Evangelical Revival, and they were all convinced, through their own spiritual experience, that they must stress in a special way the proclamation of the Gospel of the grace

of God. They regarded this evangelical message as something necessary for the whole Church in all its sections, and they were anxious to infuse the entire Church with the Evangelical spirit. They did not visualize being labelled as partisans, but they did hope that the principles for which they stood would come to be recognized as essential elements in the life of the Church. They did not attack any who differed from them, but they sought to work in fellowship with all. Briefly it may be said that the C.M.S. is and always has been Evangelical because the great bulk of its supporters are Evangelicals and because the Society, being democratically controlled, reflects the churchmanship of its supporters.

These principles in the founding of the C.M.S. are brought out in the first Report of the Society ever published. It is dated 1801 and it opens with an Evangelical statement, both positive in character and scriptural in aim:—

Of all the blessings which God has bestowed upon mankind, the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is the greatest. It is the sovereign remedy for all evils of life, and the source of the most substantial and durable benefits. Under its benign influence, the understanding is illuminated by the light of truth, pure and holy principles are implanted in the heart, the passions, those fretful causes of vice and misery, are regulated, the whole conduct reformed, peace reigns in the breast, and a well-founded hope beyond the grave soothes the sorrows of life. Fallen man becomes a new creature, happy in himself, fulfilling the will of his Maker and living to His Glory.

This message of personal conversion through the power of the living Christ lies at the root of all that the C.M.S. has ever aimed to be or to do. As we shall see, it has been abundantly fulfilled in the Missions of the Society, and races and people of many tongues rise up to-day to witness to the blessings of the Gospel proclaimed by its missionaries.

But this first Report does not leave the task of the Society as simply personal and individual. It goes on to say that "in social and in civil life also, wherever the Gospel is cordially received, its benefits are equally experienced." The vision widens as the statement affirms that the Gospel adjusts the relations between "husband and wife, father and son, master and servant." Thus the founders of the Society envisaged wide and far-reaching social service, and this before a single English missionary had been accepted for service. What a faith they had!

Next, the Report pays a tribute to "two venerable Societies long engaged in the excellent design of propagating Christian knowledge," meaning of course the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. The case for a new society is then discussed and the report continues: "Room therefore is still left for the institution of a Society which shall consider the heathen as its principal care." It lays down definitely the church character of the C.M.S. and says: "As members of the Church of England they consider its doctrinal articles as exhibiting the standard of that faith which it should be their endeavour to propagate." It refers to the iniquities of the African slave trade and says: "They trust that the wrongs which Africa has so long sustained will at length be repaired by the offerings of spiritual peace and Christian freedom." So did this

group of men, clergy and laymen, Evangelicals in spirit and message, seeking to share their spiritual heritage with peoples of other races and religions, look out upon the world.

The Report foreshadows the co-operation with other societies which since 1800 has been so marked a feature of the C.M.S. policy. "Let there be," it says, "a cordial union amongst all Christians in promoting the common salvation of their Lord and Saviour." The C.M.S. has sought to shape its course ever since upon these broad principles. There have been times when the party spirit has crept in and spoiled the fellowship with others, but taken as a whole the past 140 years reveal a consistent story of co-operation with other societies of our own Communion and also with Presbyterian and Free Church organizations. It is important that this should be emphasized at once because co-operation as interpreted is a two-way process. While it involves an increasing measure of joint service with other Anglicans it does involve a willingness to see and appreciate the immense service being rendered to the Kingdom of God through non-Anglican agencies. The C.M.S. sprang out of the same spiritual movement as many of the leading Free Church societies. There have therefore always been many affinities with Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, and others. For this reason the C.M.S., while ever loyal to the faith and order of our Church, works strenuously for re-union with the Free Churches. An enterprise that began in a work of the Holy Spirit must have larger objectives in the purposes of God than are bound up by any narrow interpretation of the word evangelism. Our Lord prayed: "That they all may be one that the world may believe." God Who called us by His Spirit to this

task is One, but the response to the call has been manifold. May it not be that the One Spirit Who initiated the modern missionary enterprise will use it to re-unite the divided branches of the Church of Christ. Co-operation, foreshadowed in the first Report ever published by the C.M.S., must ultimately lead to re-union. By service we shall discover unity.

As the nineteenth century dawned the founders of the C.M.S. caught a glimpse of another dawn: the coming of the Kingdom of God in liberating power to the millions of enslaved peoples of Africa, to the caste and out-caste Hindus of India, and to peoples of the Pacific and of the Far East. They looked north, south, east, and west and nothing seemed impossible. They were men of deep faith who embarked upon their enterprise conscious of the guiding hand of God. Were they justified? As this story unfolds we shall find the answer to this question in a great adventure and a still greater achievement.

CHAPTER II

MISSIONARY PRINCIPLES AND ACTIVITIES IN INDIA

SYNOPSIS

I

Roman Mission's policy of rapid mass baptisms. Nobili's plan to adapt the caste system. Missions an arm and auxiliary of the State. Xavier's mission—aim to win the poor, to be independent of the State; opposition to Nobili.

II

William Carey. The Danish Mission. Early co-operative efforts. The first bishopric; first C.M.S. missionaries. Policy of occupying strategic city centres. Alexander Duff's plan of western education for India. Beginnings of a village movement among outcastes in Bengal. Twofold approach to Hindus (*a*) by working among high-caste people first, and (*b*) subsequently winning the poor and untouchables. Economics in Missions—policy of payment for services rendered.

III

Economic policy of Missions affected by the great war. Increasing cost of work and reduction of income. Smaller grants and a growing Church. Edinburgh Conference of 1910 and formation of the International Missionary Council. Community movements and a village emphasis. The acid test of foreign Missions. Are they building up the Church? Value of missionary organization to the Church.

CHAPTER II

IT WAS ON December 31, 1600, that Queen Elizabeth granted to a company of London merchants a charter conferring upon them a monopoly of trade with "countries lying beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan." That charter may be said to have inaugurated the long trade connexion between India and England. A dockyard was established by the new company at Deptford, and its first vessel was named *The Trade's Increase*. The story of events in India between the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and Queen Victoria is one of adventure and conquest, until finally in 1858 the Queen was proclaimed Empress of India. Thus Britain and India have been linked together for over 300 years, and from trade agreements and warfare there has developed a partnership between the two countries by which each has given in the past, and will it is hoped continue in the future to give, its contribution to the other. The Church of England was late in interpreting these signs of the times, and did not develop any serious plan of action in regard to India until the nineteenth century. Just as trade with India grew out of the initiative of individual merchant adventurers, so in the Church the necessary enterprise owed much of its early initiative to clergy and laymen acting in a free and voluntary way and subsequently receiving the official blessing of the Church upon their labours.

Two dates of special significance should be noted at the outset. The first is November 11, 1793, the day when

William Carey landed in Calcutta, and the other is the year 1813 when Parliament included in its revised charter to the East India Company a clause sanctioning missionary work. The Serampore group, Carey, Marshman, and others, were the pioneers of the modern missionary enterprise. When they arrived in India they had none to advise them, for the previous history of Christianity in that country was little guide to the new undertaking. Although Christian missionary work had been going on for at least 1500 years, it had developed no concerted plan for the evangelization of the country. The Portuguese Mission, which began in 1498, resulted in large numbers of baptisms. The record tells us that Francis Xavier in the four and a half years he spent in India baptized about 60,000 people. In Travancore alone he baptized over 10,000 persons in a single month.

I

Principles of missionary work before the nineteenth century are interesting in the light of subsequent events. The Roman Catholic Church aimed at baptizing as many people as possible, in the hope that once they were within the fold of the Church they could be more adequately instructed in the faith. Whatever may be said in favour of this policy, it does not appear to have succeeded in India. The instruction of new converts was very meagre. Xavier never learnt any Indian vernacular, and in his intercourse with Indians he had to depend upon interpreters. In more recent times some Protestant Missions have also baptized uninstructed inquirers far too soon, and the results of this unwise policy are visible to-day. Christian communities have

sprung up with little foundation of Christian truth, often illiterate, and a prey to every superstition that reaches them. They bring more of their own religion into Christianity than they absorb of the Christian faith. They worship on Sunday in the Christian way, and for the rest of the week practise their old customs. Child marriage is allowed, and the marriage ceremony is performed with more of Hindu than of Christian rites. Because of this their faith is superficial, and such converts quickly relapse into their old beliefs and customs, and at times become parasites feeding upon the Mission. They have no Christian witness to give, and soon they are a moribund Church, and a hindrance to others who would become Christians. This experience resulting from too hasty baptism has been the same in both Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches. Now with the growth of the work more effective methods of preparing candidates for baptism are in force; but more of this anon.

Another curious phase in early missionary work in India was the adoption of the caste system by certain leaders of the Roman Church. Robert de Nobili arrived in India in 1605. He belonged to the Italian nobility, was a nephew of a cardinal, and a kinsman of Pope Marcellus II. He was a brilliant scholar, and he sacrificed every worldly prospect for the life of a simple missionary in India. Nobili arrived at a time when the Roman Mission and Portuguese rule went hand in hand. Converts from among Hindus entered what to them meant "the Portuguese" caste. Missions thus were a tool of the State, and were inseparably linked by the Portuguese to territorial aggrandizement. Nobili was too well educated not to see the implications of such a policy, and he asked himself: "How can the Christian faith be

brought within the reach of the people of India independently of efforts for territorial gains?" The conclusion he reached was that to win Indians he must be Indian.

The policy, so prevalent in early Missions of the Church, of a close State connexion by which Missions carried out the policy of the State, and the State in turn gave its full support to the work of the Missions, has been ultimately the undoing of Christianity wherever it has been practised. In the days of Byzantine Rome the Greek Church was completely dominated by the State, and in consequence when the Moslem invasion of Syria and Palestine began, thousands of Christians readily adopted the faith of Islam in order to secure freedom from the yoke of an aggressive State. To such people State and Church were one, and Islam spread far more through defections from the Church than from pressure on the part of Moslems to force them to embrace Mohammedanism. Similarly, when Islamic armies moved along the North African coast towards the Straits of Gibraltar, the native population was easily won over to Islam, and many of them fought against the Roman armies because they wished to rid themselves of the Roman yoke, for to them the Roman State and Church were one. The result of all this was that the once Christian lands of Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa are to-day almost solidly Moslem. In Egypt the vernacular of the people has been replaced by Arabic, which is now regarded by both Copts and Moslems alike as their mother tongue.

Such was the policy in India when Nobili reached the country, and he quickly set himself to alter it. But here his own class feeling led him astray. He belonged to the nobility, and for this reason he sought to win the highest

in the land to his faith. To become an Indian to the Indians meant for him a severance from all connexion with the Portuguese and a complete identification with some type of Indian life. He decided to conform as far as possible to the Brahman way of life. He adopted their dress, and donned the yellow robe of the Brahman sannyasi. None but Brahmans were allowed to serve him, and he became a vegetarian, in fact he made himself and his surroundings as Brahman-like as possible. To all this he added the adoption of the caste system, and sought by the introduction of caste into Christianity to win the highest Hindu castes in India. Controversy raged for years over this experiment, but the toleration of caste within the Christian Church has proved to be a terrible disaster. It failed in its purpose. The Brahmans were not impressed by this gesture, and converts were few.

From what has been said it will be seen that two policies had emerged through the Roman Missions. Xavier was responsible for the one, the policy of appealing to the poor, the outcastes, and the untouchables, while the other, advocated by Nobili, started from the top and sought to win the leaders of Hinduism, and thus to work downward until gradually some outcastes might be won for Christ.

The missionary to India found himself not only opposed by an entrenched Hinduism, a religious force that pervaded the whole country, but by a social system built around the framework of caste which entered into every realm of life. In every non-Christian land there is always a legacy of evil as well as good, a legacy which stands as a barrier to the interpretation of the revelation of God to man through the Incarnation. In India it

expresses itself in many forms, but in differing degrees we find the caste system at the heart of all. When missionaries began work there they were faced with the question of the Christian attitude to caste. Baptism constitutes a complete break with the caste to which a convert previously belonged, because it symbolizes membership of the Body of Christ, a fellowship which in the will of God must ultimately transcend all race, caste, and class barriers until we are all one in Christ Jesus. When Nobili adopted a form of caste as a method of evangelism among the Brahmans he was accepting for Christians an anti-Christian system which, if allowed to develop, would destroy the Church he was seeking to build.

II

We turn now, as we examine some of the principles of early missionary work in India, from the Roman Catholics to the Protestants and their efforts. When Carey landed in Calcutta the Roman Missions were very much on the decline. A century before it was computed that there were about two million Roman Catholics in India, but during the eighteenth century something very like collapse seems to have taken place. The causes for this have in a measure been noted: the use of Missions for extension of empire by the Portuguese, the temporal gains accruing to converts by their link with State as well as Church on their becoming Christians, the adoption of the caste system in order to win Brahmans, the method of hasty baptism without due preparation and care, and the failure to shepherd the converts after baptism. Christianity, therefore, at the dawn of the nineteenth century was largely nominal.

This is evident from the fact that when the State of Mysore, adopting Roman methods, put pressure on the Christian community to become Moslems, no less than 60,000 readily embraced Islam. In the eighteenth century the Roman Church in India declined from the estimated two million to 660,000. Of the remaining Christians who had not forsaken the faith, the Abbé Dubois says: "By far the greater part of them—in fact I might say the whole—present nothing but an empty shadow, a hollow mockery of Christianity, for in the long period of twenty-five years during which I learnt to know them most intimately and lived among them as their spiritual director, I can't say that I once found anywhere one single downright and straightforward Christian among the natives of India."¹

It is obvious, therefore, that Carey in his survey of the situation had to approach the problem of evangelizing India from an altogether fresh angle, to think out new methods, and to learn from the mistakes of the past. He found a Danish Lutheran Mission already established. It had been commenced in 1706, and had begun to translate the Scriptures and other literature into Tamil long before Carey arrived. This was the first method adopted by Protestant Missions, and much of the success and growth of non-Roman work must be attributed to the emphasis placed by these early missionaries on the Bible. The Danes were explorers in evangelism. They opened schools and began a methodical system for the preparation of converts for baptism. They laid the foundations from the beginning upon the principle that every Christian must be a worker. They opened a training college for teachers, and built up their work

¹ Quoted in *History of Missions in India*, p. 94.

slowly but effectively. Throughout the period from 1706 to 1792 the Danish Mission gathered a Christian community of over 36,000. Of fifty-five missionaries sent out during those years only fifteen lived to return to their native land. The disturbed state of the country at the time greatly hampered the Danish missionaries. To them was due the honour of having been the first Protestants in the field, but the main advance had yet to come, and it was the arrival of Carey which ushered in a new day.

The Serampore group decided to concentrate their efforts upon the translation of the Scriptures, and it is interesting to note that while these few men in India were making this momentous decision, the British and Foreign Bible Society was being founded in London. Three men—one of them a shoe maker, another a printer, and the third a master in a charity school in Bristol—with faith in God sought to give all India the Bible. By 1832 parts of the Bible had been translated into no less than forty-four languages. In our study of early principles we must therefore place the translation of literature into the vernaculars of India in the forefront, and the soundness of this policy has been proved in the growth of the missionary enterprise; how consistently it has been maintained down the years can be seen from the fact that the Bible in whole or part is now translated into over 1000 different languages.

To-day the Bible has a universal significance and a world-wide application. Throughout the early days of Missions when the doors were closed and eastern races hostile, the Word of God in many tongues stamped its influence upon history, and after more than a hundred years it continues to-day still conveying to the world the

eternal message of divine love. What a contrast can be seen in the two pictures, the one of a small band of men in Serampore labouring night and day to translate the Scriptures, and the other of a vast army of colporteurs and other workers scattered over the world, carrying the Scriptures, and actually selling over eleven million copies in a single year. As the Bible is put into the hands of Hindus in India, Buddhists in Burma, Confucianists in China, Pagans in Africa, and Moslems in the Near East, it not only carries its own message, but it confirms its inspiration, and people of many races who find Christ as their Saviour come to see in the Bible the authentic Word of God.

God's plan for world evangelization seems to be made clear in the work of Carey, Martyn, and a host of others. Missions have recognized this plan and followed it, and it has been the experience of men ever since that a Church cannot be built up and made a living, witnessing Church unless it has the Bible at the very heart of its life. "These nineteenth century missionaries, in order to make their message intelligible, have in the course of a century given written form to more languages than had previously been reduced to writing in all the history of the race. They have translated the Bible, in whole or in part, into more languages than any one book has ever been put since books were first written, and they have distributed it by the million copies."¹

These early missionaries very quickly found the need for co-operation and common action. They came from England at a time when feeling between the Church of England and the Free Churches was bitter and divisive, and they found in their missionary work an experience

¹ *Missions To-morrow*, by K. S. Latourette, p. 14.

that surmounted these barriers and engendered a spiritual unity and fellowship. The Baptists and the Anglicans were represented by Carey and Martyn, and Carey in turn was indebted to the Lutherans for permission to work in Danish territory. He comments on this spirit of co-operation thus: "As the shadow of bigotry is not known among us, we take sweet counsel together and go to the House of God as friends." A few years later, in 1819, the S.P.C.K., the S.P.G., and the C.M.S. joined forces in order to found the now well-known Bishop's College in Calcutta. The greatest tasks of these pioneers were carried on co-operatively. At the same time in England the divided Churches found a new common service through the British and Foreign Bible Society. Co-operation among the Churches has been a slow-growing plant, but it should not be forgotten that it has its roots in the earlier Protestant work in the world. We shall come back to this subject later, but here we note the fact that to carry on work co-operatively was another of the foundation principles of Protestant Missions.

A further illustration of this co-operative effort is to be found in the Danish Mission. In the eighteenth century chaplaincies increased and the Church was able to shepherd its members more adequately. When the Danish Mission was expanding its work among the Tamils of South India it was greatly hampered by lack of funds, and the S.P.G. gave liberal support to this Lutheran Mission to enable it to extend its borders. The S.P.C.K. also supported the Danes, and ultimately assumed responsibility for the entire Anglican contribution. This fact is interesting when we remember that the Lutherans were building up work on their own

ecclesiastical lines, and their clergy were not in Anglican orders. To the honour of these two societies, the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K., is due the credit of having been first Anglicans in the field in India in missionary work.

The third line of development was education. The Danish Mission opened schools, but Carey and his colleagues were the first to see the significance of education in relation to the Church, and they founded a college at Serampore. This institution was intended to be a training centre for Indian Christians who were preparing for missionary service. The thought underlying this plan was that Indians from the beginning must be the main source of supply of missionaries, and that India would be evangelized more effectively by her own countrymen than by foreigners. These Serampore missionaries could not think in small terms. They were men of wide vision, so they at once proceeded to lay the foundations of higher education in the hope that one day there would be an Indian university—a dream that has been more than fulfilled, for as early as 1827 Serampore College received from the King of Denmark a royal charter conferring the right to grant degrees. There is surely here, and in all the policy of these men, the stamp of real greatness. To this plan for a college and a training institution must be added Carey's scheme for village schools, based on the college. The relation between town and village, college and vernacular school, rich and poor, high-caste and outcaste, is very important. Subsequently, as we shall see, the tendency in the conduct of higher education by missionaries was to isolate the college from the rest of the work to the loss both of the college itself and the Church. So let us in passing note carefully that higher education and

village evangelism were planned originally to go hand in hand.

To these aspects of the policy of Missions at the opening of the nineteenth century must be added the fact that all missionaries, whatever their particular interest, whether translation, literature, education, or pastoral work, one and all engaged in personal evangelism and sought by every means in their power to make Christ known to India. The policy developed by Carey and others was that every missionary should be an evangelist, and for a long time it was consistently carried out. In those days it was in fact unthinkable for any one to be a missionary who was not a keen evangelist; unfortunately, since then there has been serious loss to the Church in India by the departmentalizing of evangelistic work.

These strands—literature, Bible translation, co-operation, education, village vernacular schools, evangelism, not to mention others, were being woven together into the one fabric of the Church of God. No one supposed then that the foreign Mission was the permanent element in the work. The objective in every arm was the building up of an indigenous Church. That was to be the crown and glory of every effort, and when it was attained the missionary would hand over the entire responsibility to the nationals of the country and to go forth to another and an unreached area awaiting evangelization.

Until the end of the eighteenth century the Anglican Church had played but a small part in these early missionary efforts for the conversion of non-Christian India. In the seventeenth century chaplains were appointed to minister to the British subjects in India. Sir Thomas Roe, the first ambassador to India, came from the Court of

King James I to the Great Mogul, and he took with him a chaplain.

The forward movement which gave impetus to all missionary efforts did not begin until 1813. Up to that time the doors were closed in British India to enterprises of this kind, but in that year the charter of the East India Company had to be renewed by Parliament, and in its passage through the House of Commons a clause was inserted making the residence of missionaries in India possible. The granting through the charter of permission to missionary societies to send workers to India had far-reaching results, one of the first of which was the founding of a bishopric with its seat at Calcutta. This was indeed the first Anglican bishopric outside the British Isles, and the first Bishop of Calcutta was also Bishop of Australia and South Africa! We are not writing history, but trying to see foundation principles, and for the Anglican Church the appointment of a bishop to India was the beginning of what may be described as a world-wide expansion by which a small island Church has become an international body, drawing into its fellowship people of diverse races and tongues. The picture which will naturally rise up before us is the contrast between the arrival of Bishop Middleton in Calcutta in 1814 and the meeting of the Bishops at the Lambeth Conference of 1930. In 1814 one solitary man landed in India, and his appointment was described as "the maddest of man's schemes"; a century and a quarter later over three hundred bishops assembled in conference at Lambeth Palace. They came from the provinces of India, Burma, and Ceylon, the United States of America, all the Dominions of the Empire, from China and Japan, and from other lands in every continent. This island Church literally encircles the globe, and

through these episcopal conferences renews its vision and the sense of its world task of evangelization.

With the opening of the door to Missions in India, there came the C.M.S. The Society had actually been at work prior to 1813, using the chaplains as its agents and supplying funds for the appointment of Indian workers and grants for the publication of literature. Henry Martyn and others formed local committees and co-operated with the C.M.S. From 1813 onward, however, it was possible to send out missionaries, and thenceforward the work expanded rapidly.

At first the plan seems to have been to occupy the large cities and towns as the most strategic centres. Within the first half of the nineteenth century most of the large towns and cities of India had been occupied in some way or other by representatives of the Christian faith. Village work progressed also, but not as a flow of spiritual life from city congregations to the villages. Work among caste people was slow, uphill, and strenuous, with little to show for it. Town congregations were frequently disappointing, and showed little interest in their poorer brethren in the villages. It is clear now that advance was frequently held up through an over-concentration of workers in the towns. Experience at a quite early date showed how much more responsive were the village people than the dwellers in the cities. To-day, the concentration is not in strong city centres, but rather on the building up of village communities, and already there has begun a flow of spiritual life from the village to the town. The phrase "from town to village" is still used, but in quite a different sense from its original meaning. The connotation to-day is a transfer of emphasis from the town to the village.

It was while Missions were feeling their way in the shaping of policy for a large enterprise, that the situation dramatically changed with the arrival in India of Alexander Duff. He was a young man of twenty-one, with all the ardour of youth, and as he studied Missions firsthand he felt they were in a *cul de sac*. The higher-caste Hindus were largely irresponsive. The Church was growing, and in places rapidly, by conversions from the lower castes, the poor and illiterate. Duff could not visualize any real progress where work was so largely among the poor, and he argued that a Church composed of so poverty-stricken a people would always be dependent upon foreign support. He had come to India when the two policies were being worked out in a rather unrelated way, that is the policy of winning the higher castes first through evangelism and education, and the other method, already very successful in South India, of building up the Church from the bottom and opening the doors to outcaste and illiterate people. Duff knew the first method was frankly unsuccessful, and he regarded the second as unwise and dangerous. So he set himself to find a third method, and in the hope of inaugurating a new way of winning India for Christ he decided to concentrate upon education, but with this profound difference from the method of his predecessors that English was to be the medium of instruction.

It was in this way that the missionary college system entered upon a new phase which ultimately affected and changed the entire educational system throughout India. Moslems and Hindus have opened scores of colleges on the same lines, and government higher education to-day uses English as the medium of instruction. This plan had, of course, a real evangelistic purpose to appeal to

the Brahmans and other high-caste Hindus in the hope that the message of the Gospel would ultimately percolate down from caste to caste until it reached the outcaste.

While this college system was being developed by Duff, a new village movement was simultaneously gathering strength in Bengal. In 1831, the year after Duff arrived, a C.M.S. missionary visited Krishnagar, and two years later thirty Hindus sought baptism. For the next five years the work grew quickly, until suddenly in 1838 revival broke out. Five hundred men from the villages asked for baptism, and the movement spread until the entire populations of fifty-five villages were meeting to be taught the Christian faith. When the Bishop of Calcutta visited the area he wrote to England that "the Holy Spirit was at work and who should set limits to the power of His grace?" We see the lines of advance, the one mainly educational through a new college system, and the other directly evangelistic through the presentation of the Gospel to the village people. Thus the emphasis fell upon the higher and the lower grades of society.

Henry Venn, who became the Secretary of the C.M.S. in London in 1841, investigated this village revival in Krishnagar. He saw a promising advance gradually recede and the expected harvest disappear. This compelled him to examine afresh the principles on which the Missions were building the Church overseas. It was largely due to this experience that the C.M.S. officially defined its policy thus: "The object of the Church Missionary Society's Missions, viewed in their ecclesiastical aspect, is the development of native Churches with a view to their ultimate settlement upon a self-supporting,

self-governing, and self-extending system." The Krishnagar awakening appears to have suffered from too strong a missionary control and a lack of confidence in the Indian workers, from a failure to train an adequate number of the converts as Christian workers, from the lack of any serious demand for voluntary service, and in fact from the maintenance of a Mission where a Church had come into being.

From the time of the development of the educational policy of Alexander Duff to the mass movement work of to-day, there has elapsed roughly a period of one hundred years. It is impossible to give even in outline the growth of work during this period. What has been said of the founding of the missionary enterprise in India and the methods adopted will probably be sufficient to illustrate the main lines of advance. We must, therefore, imagine in the past century an expanding work: the multiplying of schools and colleges, increasing medical service, a large output of missionary endeavour in which the initiative and leadership came mainly from Europe and America. Each decade showed an increased number of missionaries, and neither boards in Europe nor missionaries in the field thought in any other terms than a continuing expansion of grants through a steady rise in the income of the missionary societies. Income at home kept pace on the whole with expansion abroad.

Policy as it developed was to some extent based upon the economic conditions of the West. As long as the sending countries were prosperous and funds came in, all was well. Christians of the countries which had been evangelized by the missionaries regarded Great Britain and America as lands of fabulous wealth, and to build

a Church all that was necessary was to call for increasing grants. Thus the system of payments for work grew up which tended to kill the spirit of voluntary evangelism. Said an Indian Christian to me once: "Why is it you do not evangelize this area as you used to do?" My reply was that it was the duty of the Church to evangelize, the missionary was only an auxiliary helper in the primary task of the Church, and that as the Church in India had come into being, the duty of evangelism was passed from the missionary to the Church. He listened to me with interest and then agreed, but with this qualification: "Yes, sir, it is our duty and we will do it *if you pay us.*" Here lay the whole matter in a single phrase, "if you pay us." When pressed as to why there was no voluntary evangelism, he pointed to a small army of catechists, of whom he was one, and replied: "If we taught the Church to preach voluntarily we should lose our posts and our pay, for if the Church did the work freely we should no longer be needed."

The nineteenth century reveals a work successful and growing, but weak in some of its basic principles, mainly in its dependence upon the West for support and in the impression given through the policy adopted that for nearly every form of Christian service some remuneration was to be expected. Even if the wives acted as Bible women in their spare time, some payment was usually given. If men set out in all the eagerness of a rich experience to preach the Gospel they were at once invited to give up the work by which they earned their living and to devote their whole lives to this task of evangelism.

While we recognize that a full time and paid ministry is essential for the growth of the Church it does not follow

that this principle holds good for the extensive employment of laymen and women for the work of preaching, and more particularly is this dangerous when such people are paid from the funds of a foreign organization. Experience shows that where men were so paid they degenerated spiritually. They had a foreign master to please, a salary to maintain and if possible to augment. The people waiting to be evangelized were quick to grasp the significance of a band of men employed to preach, the witness of the Gospel became a matter of payment, and in consequence the message fell on deaf ears and the messenger declined in spiritual power until he fell into a rut, registering the views of a foreign missionary, collecting church dues, and acting as a servant to the pastor. In some cases the employment of such men was helpful, and there have been bright exceptions among them, but the catechist or evangelist system has often proved more of a hindrance than a blessing to a Mission. The system was due to the fact that money was available and missionaries sought quick results. Some more far-sighted nineteenth century missionaries wondered what would happen to a work so built up if funds were no longer to be obtained from abroad, but this problem was not then on the horizon.

In the C.M.S. throughout the nineteenth century no less than 2186 missionaries were sent abroad, and during the hundred years the Society spent on its work £8,801,535. When the century closed it had in India alone 406 missionaries, 3018 Indian workers, of whom 160 were pastors. The Society was at work in twelve out of the thirteen dioceses of India. It was responsible for 1253 colleges and schools. During the year 1899

when its first century closed, the Society spent on its work in India alone £92,495.

III

The programme of foreign Missions extended; more and more people at home became interested in the enterprise. Increasing grants and an increasing number of missionaries were sent out to cope with an ever-expanding work. The early part of the present century seemed to be developing as a natural growth from the past, when suddenly there came the thunder clap of the great war. Now that some years have elapsed since the war ended we can both take stock of the situation and also study the policy of to-day in the light of experience gained through the war and subsequent years. Among other results of the war were the breakdown of the international monetary system, the clogging of the channels of trade, and the greatest slump known in history. This change in the world of economics affected Missions very vitally. It threatened the stability of their finances and their capacity to meet their commitments overseas. Loss on exchange became a serious factor, and in the C.M.S., a rise of twopence in the exchange value of the rupee involved an increased expenditure in a single year of over £12,000. When the exchange value of the rupee rose from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 2*s.* and more the Society had to bear a loss of over £50,000 in one year, and the total loss on exchange in the years from 1916 to 1929 cost the C.M.S. over £400,000. At the same time the cost of the work soared to a figure never previously experienced, so that when funds were lowest the expense of maintaining the work was greatest. Thus came a gulf, an ever-widening gulf, between the income of Missions

at their home base and the expenditure upon the work in the field.

As we have already seen, Missions were largely dependent upon the economic conditions of Europe and America. The problem was: What would happen to Missions should the financial stability on which they were based collapse? Missionaries hoped for a speedy recovery, and the restoration of grants. Strenuous efforts were made to bridge the gulf between income and expenditure, but deficits accumulated in an alarming way. Thus it came about that Missions and Churches had to review the situation, not in order to meet a temporary embarrassment, nor merely to plan a reduction of work, but rather to study the principles on which the Missions had grown up and to listen to the voice of God to His Church in this critical hour. It was quite clear that the Church in eastern lands could not stand or fall by the economics of Europe. God must have something to say to His Church, an answer that would make possible the growth of the Church and the evangelization of the world, with or without financial support from the West. It was clear too that no temporary measures would meet the situation. Through the problems and tangles of a disrupted and disorganized world God was speaking to His Church. How could we discover His plan for the tasks of our day?

It was through united action that Churches and Missions came to realize that the centre of gravity had moved from the West to the East, from the Missions to the Churches, from European control to indigenous leadership, from the nineteenth century policy of an expanding income at home to meet an increasing work abroad to the plan of self-supporting Churches bearing

their own burdens, controlling their own work, and expanding through their own witness. This was no mere expedient to save expense to missionary societies. It was the outstanding spiritual fact of the hour. God in His mercy had used the missionary work of the past century in preparation for this day. Instead, therefore, of despair on account of reduced income, the work could be planned in a new way, planned for advance because in India there was the Church of God, a living Church responding to His call. It is no exaggeration to say that through difficulties and trials calls have come to many of the younger Churches, and that they have responded with a zeal and a fervour which mark the dawn of a new day.

Before practical steps could be taken to apply a new mission policy, there had to be much prayer and thought, the sharing of experience and a resolute facing of the future in the light of what was discovered in conference together. The call which came to the C.M.S. and other societies through the economic crisis was not for greater efficiency in organization, for Christianity is uniquely and essentially a personal life lived in relation with other persons and with God, and not primarily a matter of organization or money. What seemed to many as the most essential thing was that they should fulfil the will of God in trust and loyalty to Him, in sacrifice and service. The aim of Missions and Churches alike was to gain through prayer a rekindling of the forces of faith and hope and love that thus they might witness the triumphant advance of the cause of Christ. Deeply they felt the need of a new work of God in their own hearts that they might become the channels of His purpose in this critical hour. To many came the

conviction that God wills revival and that He was waiting only for the response and obedience of His Church.

Out of this fellowship in service there came springs of optimism and Missions refused to accept defeat in any form. They spoke of retrenchments, but not of defeat. They had to accept a reduced income and yet plan for advance. In obedience to the will of God they learnt how to go forward undismayed, and even rejoicingly, because they believed that He was actually speaking to them. The situation seemed to the Church at home and to the younger Churches overseas to be a call to a larger evangelism. In order that each Church might produce its own leadership, fresh thought was given to Christian education, and a ladder of education was devised in certain defined mission areas. Canon Barry says: "A living Church will grow its own ministry, and one obvious test of vitality is the quality of leadership it throws up."¹ So in India a fresh emphasis fell upon rural communities and on the importance of the village church. To all this, however, had to be added the fact that we were deeply conscious of the loss we sustained through our divisions, and increasingly we came to see that co-operation must in the long run lead us to a united Church. The aims and aspirations of this period were voiced by a bishop writing from Africa, who said: "I may have to reduce the staff. But I suppose that as a counter move we may show our contempt of the devil and our utter confidence in Christ by setting aside some days for a campaign for the deepening of the spiritual life. I have been urged to do so by my clergy. I accept the challenge."

So Missions faced their task anew with such words for

¹ *The Relevance of the Church*, p. 206.

guiding lamps as fellowship, unity, co-operation, witness, evangelism, personal conversion, education, training, leadership, and in all and through all, the Church, its life, its unity, its message.

One of the first results of a study of the mission fields in the hour of crisis was the realization that in spite of reductions in grants and fewer missionaries, the work was actually expanding and growing. Difficulties at the home base did not prevent the working of the Spirit of God, and already we were witnessing in India and elsewhere an amazing spread of the Gospel. It was as though God was pointing the way to a new advance, where the Churches themselves would lead the way. Hitherto missionary societies had spoken about pioneering and the building up of the Church by the missionary until the time came when it could hand over the work to the "native Church," and then it would be possible for the missionary to seek other unevangelized fields. Such a policy is entirely alien to the facts and experience of to-day. What we are learning is that we must place the Church in the centre and see it as the pioneering evangelistic force. We do not now talk of handing over church work, but of co-operating with the Church in its great task on the basis of equal partnership. We do not want to go on to unreached fields by ourselves, we want the Church to go and we will follow the lead of our Indian brethren.

In the early days of missionary work in India converts were baptized singly and alone. They were transplanted into a new life utterly foreign, and some of them proved unsatisfactory. Few missionaries could enter into the intense loneliness of such converts; driven from their old homes, their wives taken from them, abandoned by their friends, forced to find a new social life among people

who could hardly understand the mental upheaval and the psychological storm involved in the change. Converts were brought to Christ one by one, and they still are, for nothing can take the place of personal conversion. But the problem facing a solitary convert is terrible.

Among the outcastes this difficulty does not obtain because, although they are personally prepared for baptism and are brought individually to an experience of Christ, they move towards the Christian faith as communities, and they are not uprooted from their social environment. Village people they were, and village people they remain. They go back after baptism to change their surroundings, to prove their new life in Christ by purer and cleaner homes, by a new family life, by a social uplift for their village, and above all by their witness to the fact that for them this Gospel really works. Thus a Mission that found in 1859 a new opening through the conversion of three solitary outcastes in the Kistna area has grown to an immense Church with a baptized membership of 173,000.

In seven years after the Lambeth Conference of 1930 in the C.M.S. area of the Dornakal Diocese 50,000 new members were added to the Church. An illustration of this method of work from the bottom upwards is seen in the Dummagudem district in that diocese. For fifty years splendid work among caste people was carried on by a band of devoted missionaries, but at the end of the time there were only six Christian converts in the area. Outcastes in the same region became Christians. They took up the work of witnessing and already there are over 800 converts from caste people. A tribe of wandering gypsies, known as the Lombardi, who were

entirely untouched by missionary effort, are now coming to the Christian faith in hundreds, and this is due not to a missionary, but to the witness of the village Christians among whom they have lived.

A decade ago the outcaste Christians in many areas doubted the possibility of such simple people as they were, ever being able to touch the caste people. They had little faith to believe that God could use even them. Now they have learnt that it is the weak and despised that God often chooses, and they have already seen representatives of many castes becoming Christians.

We have seen that two methods of work began almost simultaneously. When Alexander Duff was laying down his policy for higher education through the medium of the English language, a mass movement was beginning among the outcastes of Bengal. Even in early days opinion was acutely divided as to whether work among the depressed classes was worth while, and most missionary leaders advocated a policy of evangelization beginning at the top. Missionaries had faith to believe that a Brahman might win a low-caste person. They had little faith to believe that an untouchable could ever win a caste person to Christ. When a Christian leader in India was consulted about the problem, he said that he did not wish to see outcastes becoming Christians because they would lower the prestige of the Church, and increase its illiteracy, that they would not only be a weakness, but a positive hindrance to the progress of Christianity, and that no caste person would wish to be associated with the Church which welcomed outcastes and untouchables.

Since then missionary work has greatly developed, and by looking back we can form a clear idea of how the

Church has grown. There are in India thirty-one missionary colleges. They have been at work for many years, indeed, for over fifty years almost the entire weight of missionary work was based on the policy of working from the top downwards. Yet in spite of all the encouragement in men and money, the results in terms of converts to Christianity have been meagre.

The alternative method of working from the bottom upwards, from the outcaste villagers to the caste people, was not a thought-out plan. Missionaries never evolved such a policy. It came through groups of humble, poverty-stricken, half-starved people seeking God, and the movement of the Spirit of God among them. They responded to the appeal of the Gospel as no other section of the community had done. To them the idea of love had never previously been associated with God. Their religion was one of unrelieved gloom and fear. But the Gospel broke down their despair and gave them new hope. It brought to them deliverance from the haunting fears of evil spirits. It gave them liberty and set them free from the bondage of the system under which they had been condemned to live as outcastes. Missionaries were forced from the evidence of the sincerity of these people to see the hand of God in this movement among them. Slowly the conviction came that it was God's plan to work from the bottom upwards, and only as the Spirit created this new hunger for God in the villages did the missionaries become alive to the fact that in this awakening God had spoken.

To-day we can estimate how fully they were justified in accepting this as God's way for the redemption of India. In the last decade more caste Hindus have been converted to the Christian faith through the witness of

outcastes than had been converted through the advocates of the other policy in a hundred years. It is wonderful to think that over 30,000 caste Hindus from fifty-one different castes have been converted in recent years. All the colleges and schools, the missionaries, evangelists, catechists, and others are together unable to show numerical results comparable to these.

We are now in a position to inquire whether we can begin to build up a policy for missionary work in India. To theorize in so important a matter would be not only useless but harmful. Fortunately we can build not on theory but on facts and experience. After a careful study of missionary methods of the past hundred years, we cannot escape the conclusion that it is from the bottom that we must build up the Church. The central fact in all missionary work in India is (or should be) the Church. It is the heart of the whole enterprise, and every activity of a Mission must be judged by its usefulness or otherwise to the Church. Work may be good but isolated. A college may be performing a useful purpose, but be entirely unrelated to the Church in its area. We take, therefore, this standard as the acid test of missionary usefulness, its relation and value to the Church of Christ. Such a statement requires explanation and possibly modification. But we may accept it as a working proposition, and proceed to examine the activities of Missions in the light of it.

No missionary organization can do all it would like to do. The funds of the C.M.S., if wisely spent, ought to cover the legitimate expenditure demanded from a foreign organization in support of an indigenous Church. There must therefore be some way of distinguishing between what is good and desirable if and when ample

funds are available, and what is vital and urgent in any circumstances, and for which a society has a right to appeal to the whole Church for immediate support. Such a standard appears if the apostolic principle of Church building is made the central policy of missionary activity. This will mean that ultimately the Mission must die to itself that the Church may live if by the Church we understand not an organization, but an organism, a living Body, a corporate fellowship that is of divine origin, born of the Holy Spirit. A pioneer missionary in an area where there are no converts is himself the sole representative of the Body of Christ. It is not really he who builds the Church as converts multiply, for each person who becomes a Christian is called by Christ into the fellowship of His Body. The Church is not something we create but something into which we are admitted. It is not due to our achievement but is of His grace.

A second stage comes when the Church finds itself corporately, and worship becomes something more than a number of individuals praying together. Because the Holy Spirit is operating through the Body, it becomes truly a worshipping Church, a praying Church, and out of worship and prayer the Church learns to witness and to serve.

Let us translate this in terms of experience in India. The outcastes became Christians and their faith changed their characters, their lives, their outlook, and their aims. It brought to a people who had a reputation for breaking every law of God a power to overcome sin. It led them into new service. Homes were purified, villages were cleansed, and in spite of many faults a new day dawned for these people. They built their little churches, and

Hindus, intrigued by what was taking place, came to watch. They saw the changes, but they could not explain them. They looked through the church windows and watched their serfs at worship—reverent, devout, and sincere—and went away to wonder. The movement spread until thousands of outcastes were pouring into the Church, and with every new growth the influence of the Church spread. The miracle had happened. These peasant folk had not only become Christians, they were a Church.

Then came a day recently when the Bishop of Dornakal called for volunteers for a Week of Witness. It meant that every man who came forward had to give up a week's pay. In this diocese there is no payment for preaching, no people are employed as paid agents to witness to their faith. No, witness was a costly experience for the Telugu Christian, yet over fifty per cent of the communicant membership of the Church volunteered to go out, to give their testimony, and to witness to what they had found in Christ.

Here are some results of one week only, when a Church assumes its own primary responsibility for witness. Over 11,000 Christians took part in the campaign. They visited more than a thousand villages. It was reckoned that over 122,000 Moslems and Hindus heard the message. During the week over 500 caste Hindus and 2400 outcastes made definite decisions to become Christians. In addition to these nearly 2500 caste people and 4600 outcastes enrolled as inquirers. Movements towards Christianity were started in forty-one new villages. Knowing as we do the exclusive feeling among caste people about outcastes, it is remarkable that in many cases the Christian witnesses of outcaste

origin were actually fed by caste Hindus, who invited them into their homes.

In the past we have said that Indians must be evangelized by Indians, and we have proceeded to employ them with foreign money to do it. Now we see that evangelism cannot be left to a group of foreign-paid native agents, because wherever this has been done it has led to sterility in the Church. Evangelism is the task of the whole Church, and woe to that Church whose members pay men to do the work for them instead of doing it themselves. Once a Church is formed it must witness or die, because it is the Body of Christ for the evangelization of the area in which it is situated. The diocese of Dornakal is regarded in India as unique, and most people ascribe its success to its Bishop. The diocese it is true owes more to its Bishop than to any other man, but the wonderful results are surely due to the fact that the Bishop and his colleagues have discovered certain apostolic principles in Church building and have applied them to the work of the diocese. The principles are simple, and may be summarized in this way:—

(1) The Church is the centre of every activity in the diocese.

(2) The missionary is a humble member of the Church and not its director.

(3) The methods of work are Indian, not foreign.

(4) The Church is taught to worship first, and out of a new sense of the abiding presence of the living Lord there has come the urge to witness.

(5) No catechists are employed to preach; this is the voluntary task of the whole Church.

(6) Every member is expected to be a witness.

(7) The Church must be a literate Church, consequently the school in every village community is the foundation of the work.

(8) The Church must be shepherded by intensive and detailed teaching and training.

(9) Teaching must be a continuous process that does not end after confirmation, but continues through life.

(10) The Bible is the text-book of instruction, and the Church is built up as a Bible-reading, Bible-loving Church.

(11) The Church must have a complete ministry of the Word and Sacraments. This is very important, for in areas where the Holy Communion can only be administered at rare intervals growth is retarded.

(12) To provide a complete ministry the village church must produce its clergy from its own ranks. A village ministry for village people is an essential principle. This means that in the early stages the Church has to be ready to ordain men with but slender educational qualifications, but a higher standard for ordinands is demanded as the Church develops.

(13) Village clergy must be trained *in* the villages. They must belong to the village, and after ordination live simple lives as closely in touch with the people as they were before.

(14) Clergy and teachers must be brought to a central place at regular intervals for refresher courses.

(15) Wives of clergy and teachers must be treated as an important factor in Church building, and trained to lead in women's work. They too must have refresher courses.

(16) All clergy and teachers must be taught the meaning of social service. They are, therefore, given a simple

medical course, and when their training is complete, they are equipped with a medicine box for use in their villages.

(17) The Church is a teaching Church. Every learner is a teacher to some one. The plan for constant, unremitting teaching is worked out methodically in every branch of the Church's activities.

(18) The Church must as far as possible be a self-supporting Church. It costs an outcaste more to be a Christian than a Hindu. Out of deep poverty they support their clergy.

(19) The Church must be democratically controlled. In Dornakal it is divided into deaneries, and the system is a simple one understood by all Indians who in the villages have their *panchayats*, or village councils.

(20) Converts are mobilized at once into a fighting force, and thus early enthusiasm is captured for service.

These methods and principles are applied throughout the diocese, and so we can see before our eyes their application to practical situations. We still have to inquire how with these principles operating, an indigenous leadership can be secured. The answer is by a ladder of education that is centred in the Church. Because the schools are Christian in the truest sense a village boy may pass from the little single-teacher vernacular school to a central school where as a boarder he will be carried a stage further, and on to a high school whence he may pass to a college. But the point to note is that here education is not a separate branch of Christian work functioning independently. It is the servant of the Church, and because of this the diocese has related all the educational institutions to its policy and to meet its requirements. In the Dornakal Diocese there exists now a complete ladder by which a village boy may rise to

college education, but the diocese sees to it that all through he is being taught the Christian faith. When, therefore, he completes his education, at whatever stage this may be, many a boy does not seek to go off to some big city for employment and a good salary. He is content to remain in his old area, to serve his community and to give his life for the work of the Church. Thus a real leadership is developing—a leadership that is spiritual, trained, and equipped.

With the example of Dornakal in our minds, we can travel through India and ask why similar results are not obtained elsewhere. Is it because the methods are usually so foreign? For instance, India, as we have seen, has a system of panchayats or village councils. It has been evolved over centuries, and is still a typical expression of India's genius for organization. Villages are in a sense self-governing, and as India is a land of villages this plan of elders in every village and a community voice in its affairs gives her rural population a traditional capacity for local self-government often missing in other countries. Why, then, in our diocesan system should not more emphasis be placed upon the corporate mind of village Christians? Frequently a central committee sits in some city and conducts the affairs of a diocese or archdeaconry, and the people who have the controlling voice are town bred and town minded, yet they decide what is good for the villages. Where differing forms of decentralization have been planned along the lines of the panchayats, the village church has come into its own. The voice of the village Christian community is difficult to hear in city committees, and over-centralization often prevents any adequate expression of the village mind in the counsels of a diocese.

To-day a challenge is before the home Church. It comes from all parts of India, and it is for a larger and wider evangelism. The opportunities for the Gospel have never been so numerous. A survey of all India will mark the places where there are evident signs of movements of the Spirit. We must study all existing activities to see how far they are meeting the need. We must plan for a much more genuine Indianization of the work. When Missions have been diocesanized and the work brought under diocesan control, it does not follow that it is therefore Indian. A highly-centralized episcopal organization can be just as foreign as a missionary society. We must distinguish clearly between Indianization and diocesanization. Indian and British, Anglican and Free Church, must plan together for the winning of India to the Christian faith, and press forward to the attainment of that objective. This demands a definiteness of aim and a determination to work for results. It requires a unity of all the forces working for the redemption of India, and an agreed all-India missionary policy.

Bishop Azariah, preaching in London in 1937, said:—

Speaking from an experience of twenty-five years among the villages of India, I can say, without the slightest reservation, that the only power which can lift the village up from its economic, social, and moral degradation, is the Name and power of Jesus Christ our Lord and Master. At a moderate estimate four-fifths of the Christians of India are the fruit of the movements among the depressed classes of the country. These too are being saved and lifted up, not by the preaching of a social gospel, but by the proclamation of Jesus as the Saviour from

sin. Social and economic results have undoubtedly followed; but these are the natural working out, at the circumference of life, of the change that has taken place at the centre. Take the central message away, or keep it in the background, and you will not see the changes at the circumference. "If any man is in Christ, there is a new creation; the old things are passed away; behold, they are become new."

CHAPTER III

EXPANDING MISSIONS IN AFRICA

SYNOPSIS

I

Mombasa in 1844. Slavery. Early evangelism. Persecution in Uganda. Openings in West Africa. Vision of a chain of mission stations across the continent. Founding of the Church. Some statistics.

II

Asixfold plan of advance. Scripture translation and circulation. Dioceses of East Africa. The bush schools—"synagogues." Government co-operation in missionary education.

III

As the Church emerges in Africa the whole continent in transition. Colonial Office action. Wider meanings of education—for the whole life—girls' education—voluntary service. Policy of the Church in this new day: Christian education—social service—evangelism.

IV

Social uplift through a change of heart. Education of the whole of man. Value of human life. Medical missions part of the Gospel. Christian values in the tribes. The missionary force—the African workers. Namirembe Cathedral. A growing, witnessing Church. The unfinished task. Every worker an evangelist.

CHAPTER III

THE SECOND OF our surveys of work in Missions abroad carries us to Africa. Widely different from what we have seen in India is the background, as we turn to what until recently was regarded as the Dark Continent, for a study of the principles and methods by which the Church in pagan Africa is growing in strength and purpose for the evangelization of its people.

I

The tropical sun shone brilliantly over our heads as on a summer day in 1937 we steamed into Mombasa harbour. Our touch with Africa so far on this voyage had given us the impression of deserts, waterless wastes of land stretching for hundreds of miles, and mountains range on range, where not a blade of grass could grow. It seemed like a vast territory smitten by some terrible hand under which vegetation had withered and water courses had dried up, thus creating a scorched and barren land, against which puny men in the shape of nomad Arabs sought to pit their strength. Then as our steamer drew near to the coast we saw a land of luxurious vegetation and beauty. We stood on deck anxious to miss nothing of the ever-changing panorama. We passed round the island of Mombasa when suddenly our attention was riveted by the scene before our eyes. On a headland and with a background of silvery palms stood a large stone cross. An avenue had been cut through the

trees from the mound to the water's edge, and as the steamer passed this glade the cross stood out—a memorial and a witness; but to what? Our first introduction to East Africa was a cross on a green hill.

Let us recall the story which led to the setting up of that cross. In 1844 a solitary missionary of the C.M.S. landed in Mombasa with his wife. It was Johann Ludwig Krapf, and he was the only witness to the Gospel for thousands of miles. He and Mrs. Krapf had no friendly colleagues waiting to greet them as they arrived. They were regarded with grave suspicion by Africans, and with hatred and contempt by the Arabs who were deeply involved in the slave trade between Mombasa and Arabia. There was no native Church and there were no willing helpers such as one finds in Mombasa to-day. These pioneers faced an unknown, unexplored continent, and every conceivable difficulty and obstacle confronted them. The task of evangelizing Africa at that time might well have made stouter hearts quail. Within three months Mrs. Krapf had passed to her rest. Her body was carried to the mainland for burial, and from the grave of his wife Krapf wrote to England and summoned the Church to the evangelization of Africa. The task had begun in suffering and sorrow. The grave had been filled in and one man stood alone on this headland at the entrance to Mombasa. He looked out to sea. That way lay safety—retreat—and home. Below him were scores of Arab dhows, sailing up the creek to collect their cargoes of slaves. Then he turned his face inland and looked on one of the fairest parts of Africa. The hills stood out in the clear light, but beyond lay a land unknown, and a people sitting in darkness, waiting for the coming of the Light of Life. That day at the graveside Krapf made his

choice. God had called him to Africa and here he would live. He prayed for the opening up of the Dark Continent, and in his vision he saw a chain of mission stations from east to west. In firm resolve he went down from his Gethsemane to forge the first link in that chain.

After two years he was joined by Johann Rebmann, and together the two pioneers prayed and worked for the realization of Krapf's dream. By exploration and linguistic study, by entering into the life of the people and bringing to them in their need the Gospel of the grace of God they laid foundations for the Church in Africa, although it was not given to them to see much result of their suffering and toil. In 1853 Krapf retired, his health completely undermined by his privations and trials.

Twenty-two years later a small steamer is leaving Mombasa harbour and a solitary figure, aged, broken in health, almost blind, is standing on the deck. It is Rebmann. For all those years he had held gallantly to his post and had never once left Africa. Twenty-nine years' devoted service, much of it in loneliness, had been given to Africa; the first link in the chain had been forged, and the first church established. Rebmann came home to die, but he handed on the torch to others, and the light has shone more and more brightly ever since, until to-day it is true to say that Krapf's dream has come true, for the chain of mission stations has been established across Africa.

Years have rolled by. It is 1937, and I am standing on the same mound, below me lies the same creek, but the slave dhows have disappeared and the Africans are free. On this spot stands the cross. Reverently I draw near and read the inscription. On one side are these words:—

“To the Glory of God and in memory of Dr. and Mrs. J. Ludwig Krapf.”

On the other side:—

“They reached Mombasa in May, 1844, but in July she died and by her grave (near this spot) summoned the Church to attempt the conversion of Africa from its eastern shore! Scholar, linguist, and traveller, he and the Rev. J. Rebmann discovered Kenya and Kilimanjaro. Like Dr. Livingstone he died on his knees at prayer, November 26, 1881.”

As I walk back from the cross I reflect: Can it be true that this lovely spot was once the centre of a hideous slave traffic? Did the C.M.S. missionaries really win in the struggle? Do we owe it largely to them that a new day has dawned?

A curious sidelight was thrown on my reflections while I was in Mombasa. A missionary said that he had always found it difficult to persuade the Arabs to do anything to help him. When he tried to find out the reason for this aversion the answer given was that the Arabs would never do anything to help the C.M.S. because they say it was due to the C.M.S. that slavery was abolished in East Africa, and that thus cheap labour and a lucrative trade were lost for ever! No, the Arab has never forgotten those days when the C.M.S. mission station at Rabai was a city of refuge to runaway slaves. He will never forget the struggle that took place: slavery symbolized by the old Arab dhow, liberty and freedom by a large Christian church, where for the first time in the history of East Africa the song of praise and prayer was heard from African lips.

I went on to Rabai where the old mission house still stands. The church is in the middle of a large

compound, but Rabai has lost its glory, for the overthrow of the slave trade stripped it of its main source of income. But in its place are church and school, pastor and teachers; the first link, forged in suffering, still holds. The illustration of a chain has, however, lost its meaning, for the Gospel has spread more like a great network in all directions. The march of Christian forces has passed through and gone beyond the coastal area into the mountains of the Kikuyu country, westward through Maseno, along the shores of Lake Victoria, across the Kavirondo country, on into the Elgon hills, across Uganda into the Belgian Congo, southward through Tanganyika, and northward into the Sudan.

The cross on the headland at Mombasa is not only a memorial to intrepid and heroic missionaries; it is a symbol of the capacity of European missionaries to suffer in the cause of Christ. In that symbol we see a monument to all those brave hearts of the nineteenth century who, counting not their lives dear unto them, gave themselves willingly for the evangelization of Africa. It was from that grave in Mombasa that the inspiration came which called forth this great army in continuous waves decade after decade. Mackay, toiling for twelve years and dying alone on the shores of the great lake, Bishop Hannington murdered as he entered the country for the first time: these are well known and outstanding examples of a great host, many of whom are scarcely remembered to-day. Men and women gave life-long service, patiently labouring to reduce African languages to writing, translating the Scriptures, laying the foundations of an African literature, opening the first door of education to native races, revealing to the African through school and hospital,

through life and service, through the printed word and the proclamation of a message, a wealth of love, sympathy, and understanding which eventually won its way into his heart and thus made possible the founding of the Church of God.

An African Church can of course only be founded by African people. It is a mistake to imagine that the missionary founded the Church and that the Africans built upon his foundations. As has already been said, the Church of God is an organism, a body, composed of living members, and those members must be Africans. Such a Church is not built as an organization. It grows spiritually as the members learn the meaning of worship and prayer. But if the Church is to grow it must produce those characteristics which in all ages have marked the true Church of God.

I have said that the cross at Mombasa is a symbol of the capacity of European missionaries for sacrifice, but what of the Africans? As they became Christians did they display a like capacity for sacrifice on behalf of Christ? My second illustration will supply the answer. I had visited mission stations from Mombasa to Nairobi and Kampala, and one day I was taken to a swamp where tall elephant grass was growing. A glade had been cut from the road to the swamp, on the edge of which stood another cross. The place was lonely and wild, and the cross was only visible to those who stopped as they passed along the road. It marked the spot where a group of Baganda boys in 1885 had given their lives rather than renounce Christ.

One of the leading chiefs in Uganda, now a very old man, sat with me in Kampala one day and described the scene enacted when those lads died, for he had been at

that time a servant at the court of King Mwanga. The chief spoke of Mackay's work at Natete and how the young people used to go to him, some at night time, for Christian teaching, and how the work spread until hundreds of the Baganda had confessed Christ in baptism. One day some of the young men were ordered to do something against their own consciences, and they refused. Mwanga immediately ordered the arrest of the Christians, and once more the followers of Christ had to make a choice, whether to follow Him or to deny Him. Many Christians fled for refuge to a neighbouring chief, who, although a pagan, gave them protection and shelter, but about 200 failed to escape and were slain for their faith. Among them were these three young men. The old chief described how they were given the choice of life or death, and how they all decided to die rather than renounce Christ. They were brought before Mwanga and condemned to death. Their executioners then bound their hands and drove them along the road to the swamp, but as they went they joined together in singing the hymn: "Daily, daily, sing the praises." At the swamp they were tied hand and foot, and burnt to death, and through all their sufferings their faith never failed.

The old man looked at me as he told his story, and he saw I had a question to ask. He paused, and I said: "How did you escape?" Then in the simplest way he told me his vivid story. When the persecution began he, being at the court, knew what was coming and he fled, and hid in the bush. The next day one of his companions found him and said: "You are safe, but Mwanga is going to kill your father instead of you." "This," said the old man, "worried me because my father was a pagan and was not ready to die. I was a Christian, and

to the Christian there is no such thing as death." So he decided to go and find his father. He made his way home, and to his joy discovered that his father had not yet been arrested. He told him what he had heard and that Mwanga was going to kill him because his son had fled. His father then asked him what he intended to do, and his answer was: "I would rather die than you because I am a Christian." His father in true pagan style replied: "If that is your decision, come and I will take you to Mwanga." They entered the court and stood before the terrible king. The father related to Mwanga how his boy had fled but had returned to give himself up rather than let his father die. "Here," said the father, "is my son. Do with him whatsoever you wish." It was a tense moment, for the lad's life hung by a thread upon the whim of a pagan king. Mwanga said: "I have killed enough of the Christians; your boy can live." "So," said the old chief, "my life was spared, and ever since I have sought to serve Jesus Christ."

European and African alike for the sake of the Gospel gave their all in the struggle between paganism and the Christian faith. They discovered a common capacity for comradeship and they joined forces to evangelize Africa. The Church began to be built when the first convert found Christ as his Saviour and Lord, and it has grown ever since as the witness of the Christian community has brought others to Christ. We see therefore a background to all that is going on to-day, a background of suffering and toil, of endurance and patience, of faith and trial, of pain and sickness, of defeat and victory in which black and white joined forces in order that the Kingdom of God might come to Africa.

Before we turn from these pioneer days to the present

time, let us remind ourselves that what has been described here by way of illustration does not mean that the C.M.S. began its African work on the east coast nor that this side of Africa represented the whole nor even the major part of the Society's activities. Long before 1844 C.M.S. missionaries were hard at work on the west coast, for it was in the year 1804 that the first party sailed for West Africa. The problem there was much the same as that in East Africa. Slavery was rife and an entrenched paganism would not yield up its power without a struggle. The little Church at first consisted of freed slaves, and through their witness the Gospel radiated inland and eastwards. The year after Krapf had landed in Mombasa an invitation came from the freed slaves of the Yoruba country to open missionary work in Nigeria. Thus the chain was being forged on both sides of Africa simultaneously.

West Africa has the distinction of being the first Mission founded by the C.M.S. The two missionaries who were sent out in 1804 went to the Susu tribes on the Rio Pongas, but in 1816 a concentrated effort was made to establish a mission base in the colony of Sierra Leone. Here a motley throng of freed slaves of many tribes were assembled, and the Society's aim was to win these slaves and thus through them to evangelize a wide area of West Africa.

History repeats itself, for just as modern missions grew out of the Evangelical Revival, so in Sierra Leone after a revival in 1817 the Gospel was carried in many directions by newly-converted tribespeople. Yorubas came under the influence of this movement, and when they returned to Nigeria they began at once to witness to their new faith. These early days of pioneering revealed

the great difficulty of building up a Church in an area where tribal links and loyalties had been broken up. Advance from Sierra Leone was small, the many tribes were separated units, and the real forward movement in West Africa did not commence until the Gospel had taken root in areas where tribal life was still maintained. The early years from 1804 to 1845 were a time of steady consolidation and of preparation for greater things to come. By 1842 about one-fifth of the children of the colony of Sierra Leone were in mission schools, and in the churches founded by the C.M.S. there were some 7000 regular worshippers. In 1827 Fourah Bay College was opened and young men were prepared for ordination, the first of whom was Samuel Crowther, afterwards to become the first African in modern times to be raised to the episcopate.

These early foundations of the C.M.S. were thoroughly laid; steady and patient work was done through education, and thus Africans were trained from the first to take their place in the Church. A generation passed before the purpose of God in leading the Society to open its first work in Sierra Leone was revealed. Then Nigerian freed slaves began to return to their tribes, and between 1839 and 1842 over 500 of them found their way back to their homelands. The little Church in Sierra Leone lost many of its best members, but, as happened with the scattering of the Christians from Jerusalem, it was to lead to a wider evangelization.

An invitation came from Abeokuta in Nigeria to the Church of Sierra Leone to send missionaries there, a venture which would entail a journey of a thousand miles into an area that had been devastated by the slave raiders. It is an interesting fact that the two chosen to go

were a European missionary and an African, Samuel Crowther, who within a month of his arrival found his own mother among the freed slaves. For him this missionary expedition was a return, after liberation by a gunboat and subsequent training for the priesthood, to the home from which he had been taken as a slave. From the commencement of this new Mission there was rapid progress. Within three years there were over 500 regular worshippers at church and 200 inquirers were being prepared for baptism.

So in returning to the period at which this chapter opened—1844 to 1845—we see two important links forged, one in Mombasa and the other in Nigeria, and an unbridged gap between them of about 2400 miles. The subsequent story of Missions based on the two opposite coasts of Africa is one of steady advance and the narrowing of the gap. By 1921 in Southern Nigeria the number of Africans belonging to the non-Roman Churches was 614,000; which makes us realize that the Church increases by a teaching ministry, for Sunday by Sunday and every weekday the Christian faith is systematically taught. The method of advance in this Mission through Christian education has more than justified itself. In Nigeria to-day the C.M.S. has about 1000 schools of various grades. When we compare the Missions in East and West Africa we find that the C.M.S. on the east coast has advanced inland for over 1000 miles, and has established work along the entire route of its advance, while from the west coast the Society's Missions have penetrated inland for over 500 miles.

The statistics reveal even more startling facts. In 1914 Christian adherents in C.M.S. spheres in Africa slightly

exceeded 200,000. In 1926 the number had risen to 484,800, and by 1937 the figure stood at 845,000, that is to say that these Churches in Africa are doubling their membership every twelve years. It is a startling fact that of the 1,369,246 Christian adherents in 1937 served by the C.M.S. throughout the world, more than half are to be found in the two African territories of Nigeria and Uganda, with a total of 742,579. This rapid growth calls for a corresponding increase in Christian workers. The native staff in 1926 was 9004, and in 1937 it had risen to 15,532, but an increase in the number of African workers proportionate to the growth of the Church would require the latter number to be 16,000. The Church therefore is not keeping pace with its growing membership. The comparison of figures for ordained native clergy is equally disturbing. In 1926 the number was 237, and ten years later it had risen only to 307.

Recent returns show that these Churches in Africa are raising annually in contributions for the maintenance of their work over £79,000, while in addition a sum of £48,000 is collected as fees in Christian schools. The Churches are therefore in considerable measure self-supporting. They pay the entire cost of their clergy, catechists, and teachers, and are responsible for the upkeep and maintenance of thousands of schools. They are extending their borders continuously, and are multiplying through their own witness.

II

With these striking facts and figures before us we may well pause and ask again what are the governing principles in the building up of a Church, growing at so

rapid a pace and drawing its members from a surrounding paganism, still of great numerical strength. It has had to be recognized in the circumstances that the Missions and Churches in these African protectorates cannot do all they would wish. They are frequently hindered and restricted for lack of funds and personnel, and a selection of duties has had to be made so that the missionaries shall not spend their time in fruitlessly trying to do more than they can well accomplish. This selection of work has involved the development of a plan of action, and it has been agreed that while much must be left undone the whole work must centre in the young Church. We have seen how this policy was developed in India, where conditions were very different from those in Africa. A survey of missionary work the world over would show that to-day the missionary is primarily concerned with the Church and how to make it vital, living, and strong so as to insure that with or without his aid it would continue to grow and flourish. In order to achieve this a sixfold policy has been drawn up by the Bishop on the Niger, which may be summarized as follows:—

1. Evangelistic zeal. The witness of the Church in its corporate life and its message is the most fruitful method of evangelism.

2. Knowledge of the faith. Particular care is taken to instruct the catechumens in the Bible before they are baptized. The course of preparation for confirmation is far more thorough than the usual classes for confirmation in England.

3. Christian family life. In a land where polygamy has been the accepted custom for hundreds of years the demand of the Church for monogamy and a pure

Christian home is revolutionary. But those who know Africa best are agreed that insistence on monogamy is the only way to raise the whole moral standard of Africa.

4. Christian education. In the building of a strong Christian community every effort is made to teach catechumens to read before they are baptized. So extensive has this Christian vernacular teaching become that it is having a remarkable influence upon the education of Africa.

5. A strong moral witness. The implication here is that the Church must be the conscience of the people. The standards of morality must be set by the Church for the nation.

6. Church Union. Particular importance is attached to this, for the Africans are demanding that they be allowed to unite in one Church.

That Africa is in transition is now a mere commonplace, but let us pause for a moment and view this vast continent in which the Kingdom of God is making such rapid strides. Almost in a single lifetime Africans have sprung from isolation, illiteracy, and ignorance of the rest of the world to a position in the stream of the world's life. In many parts of Africa fifty years ago languages had not been reduced to writing, while to-day the Bible Society is circulating the Scriptures in nearly 200 different African languages. The African stands before us empty-handed, seeking for all the West has to offer, and European commerce is not backward in exploiting the situation. But as the Church grows in this changing environment it is clear that the African

can and does stand the shock of western civilization. He possesses a toughness of fibre, an adaptability to new conditions, a joyousness in life, a good comradeship and a loyalty which augur well for the days to come. But above all he has religious instincts which, through the Christian faith, are finding a new development and meaning. The Church therefore must meet the growing demands of young Africa. It must have a tribal value, that is to say it must build the Christian faith into the very fabric and life of the tribal communities. It must display a Gospel in action which meets the needs of the whole man—body, soul, and spirit. The Church therefore stands to-day after the years of pioneering and development as a spiritual factor within the tribes taking the place of the old superstitions and faiths. It is beginning to build up a new and healthier home life, and although polygamy is still widely practised, the stand made by the Church in Africa for monogamy has had a purifying influence of immense importance.

We have seen how Krapf and Rebmann toiled to gain a footing on the east coast. It was not until 1877 that the first party of C.M.S. missionaries travelled into the interior, and Uganda became an area of missionary activity. Canon Bowers in his *Notes on the Uganda Cathedral* says:—

The act of Mutesa in inviting missionaries to his country was a national act, which has had for the whole country consequences reaching far beyond any possible expectation at that time. Missionary work, evangelistic, educational, and medical, government administration, commercial development

have all flowed from that one source, and still flow with ever-increasing force and expansion.

The startling fact is that the little Mission of 1844 has resulted in the establishing of an African Church in East Africa, now divided into the dioceses of Mombasa, Uganda, the Upper Nile, and Central Tanganyika. The invitation to the C.M.S. from a few freed slaves in Nigeria in 1844 has resulted in the founding of the dioceses of Lagos and the Niger, an area that has already given eight Africans to the episcopate. Here then is the fact that confronts the student of Missions. Whatever failures there may have been, however great the obstacles, yet we see demonstrated before us an amazing success, beyond anything that earlier missionaries imagined possible. That there is still a great unfinished task before us does not diminish the splendour of the achievement.

Any one who visits Africa to-day will see the Church in being, a Church divinely created through the Holy Spirit in the hearts and lives of men. Missionaries had to pick their way through many a morass. They had to buy their experience by painful experiment, and as we try to trace the essentials of the methods that under God carried the work to success we might instance many things, the lives of the missionaries for instance, their sacrificial service for others, their unselfishness and absence of desire for personal gain, the obvious sincerity of their message; or we might point to education as the backbone of Church building; or again to medical service which has broken down prejudice, paved the way for the Gospel, and helped men to see the love of God in a way no preaching could ever have done.

All over pagan Africa missionary work began in

what are now known as the bush schools. In some Missions they were the first educational work to be attempted. They were opened even before languages were adequately reduced to writing, before the Bible was translated. They were catechetical centres which with the growth of Christianity spread everywhere as Africans sought to witness to their new-found faith. In Uganda they were first called "synagogues," a term which explains itself, for the object the missionary had in view in developing these village centres was to make them Bible schools, they had literally one book and in some cases only a small part of that. Years ago the text-book in Scottish village schools was the Bible, and the children in Scotland used the Book of Proverbs as their primer. It has often been said that the virility of Scottish Christian character was due to the fact that the Christian faith was built into the very life of every village community.

Something of this has been happening in Africa, for in thousands of villages the bush school has become the house of the interpreter where some semi-educated boy seeks to impart his meagre store of knowledge to a rural people. He frequently asks for no pay and seeks no reward. He is content if after years of such service he can see the Christian faith taking root in the village, becoming part of the life of the community, offering new standards, ideals, and hopes. Thus the Christian faith becomes indigenous in a simple African way, through service which is very largely voluntary, in an education which complies with few if any of the recognized requirements of our day, yet offering something to the African without which his uplift and development would have been impossible.

The bush school has been the greatest evangelistic

factor in all Missions in pagan Africa throughout the nineteenth century. It has applied Christianity in a simple practical way to village needs and it has succeeded. To-day in Uganda alone the C.M.S. has about 3000 of these schools. Shortly before I left Kampala in 1937 the *Katikiro* (Prime Minister) came to see me, and as we talked about education in Uganda and government plans of development, we reviewed the position of missionary education, the primary and secondary schools, the teacher-training centres, and the vocational schools. But after surveying the whole field the *Katikiro* came back finally to the bush school as the nation's greatest asset; its value lay in the fact that it is Christian and places the teaching of the faith in the very centre of the curriculum. He said it was the policy not only of the Church but of the whole nation of Uganda, from the king downwards, that the bush school should remain permanently in the hands of the Missions and that the education of the country should be essentially Christian. He explained his reasons for this emphasis. If the Government took over these schools they would become secular, he argued. How then would the people learn the Christian faith? How would Christian character be instilled into the young. "No," he said emphatically, "these boys would grow up educated but pagan, and we are a Christian race."

The *Katikiro* went on to show the advantage of the Christian character of these schools by pointing to many of the most outstanding Baganda leaders who, he said, began life in bush schools. Government have gained enormously in the quality of service these men have rendered, and this quality has been possible because they became Christian in the village school.

For over fifty years these "synagogues" have been at work permeating village life with the Gospel, and thus thousands owe their Christian faith to them. But with church development there had to be development in education, and so the village school was made a stepping stone to higher forms of education. The elementary vernacular school followed, a full primary standard was attained, and now secondary education is being widely developed. There is therefore a ladder of education from the simplest village school to the secondary and the high school.

We have to visualize the educational system growing out of these little village centres to understand how a primitive people is passing out of its age-long childhood into a new manhood, to witness the growth in intellectual capacity from the days of complete illiteracy (within living memory in many parts of Africa), to the present time when young Africans come to European and American universities to complete their education, and hold their own with ease alongside western youths who have centuries of educational tradition behind them. The problem is still more difficult when we realize that in this period of transition the western world is pouring into Africa all the material achievements of science, and that the African is suddenly introduced to the telegraph and the telephone, to the wireless and the cinema, to the railway, the motor, and the aeroplane, to the newspaper, and to literature and news from all parts of the world.

How fortunate it is for European administrations as well as for the Africans that in this critical period the Church is established and Christian influences are at work. New spiritual and moral forces operate to-day in Africa that would never have been there at all, but for

the work of the missionary. He began earlier in many areas than the administrator, and it was he who bore the burden and the heat of the days of pioneering. He saw further than the Government, for before there was a department of education he was busy laying the foundations of Christian schools. Not only was he first in the field, but for more than a generation in many parts of Africa he carried on his schools and philanthropic work before Governments took a hand in them.

Even now in pagan Africa the greater part of the educational work is in the hands of the missionary, and the basis of education really is Christian. We have only to examine the secular education of the West and its effect upon religious life of to-day to realize what an inestimable benefit Christian education is to Africa, especially at this time when the continent is being invaded by every kind of material and secular influence from outside. In this we who are engaged in missionary work owe more than we can say to the helpfulness of the Governments in the British protectorates of Africa. The fact that it is the policy of Government to encourage Christian education is of great significance.

The progress of the Church is an evidence of the development of the African in education and in many other directions. The African knows that he pays taxes for education, and to-day demands the very best system we can give him. He seeks an English education corresponding in quality to that given in good schools in England. If Missions do not provide it he urges the Government to give it. Mission schools, therefore, while seeking to afford Christian education, have to face a battery of criticism, often from the very people they wish to serve.

When Missions began educational work the only standard was the mission school, but now they have to face a continual demand for better and still better schools. This in turn throws an added burden upon the missionary, who seeks to combine his mission functions and evangelistic responsibilities with his educational work. If he is tied to the machine and absorbed by the routine of the school there is danger that he will lose the quality of his inspiration, and one of the chief problems before the Missions at the moment is how to maintain the balance between the service of the Church and the educational demands of the schools. What really differentiates government secular schools from mission schools is the quality of worship a missionary introduces into his work, whether it be in village school or college. The sense of God's presence gives point and force to all that is done. There is an atmosphere in a Christian school which produces a strength of character in the pupils and builds up a nation with new ideals. And it is because of the proved effects of Christian education upon the African people that the Governments of the protectorates have for some years now sought to use the mission schools as the medium of education.

In no other part of the world in modern times has there been such close co-operation between Government and Missions as in Africa. For years successive British Cabinets shrank from increasing imperial responsibilities, and when, almost reluctantly, Britain assumed protectorate power over large areas in Africa development was slow and policy in regard to the peoples was uncoordinated. Anthropology was the academic study of the expert, and was occupied largely in collecting information unrelated to the practical problem of administering

these territories. Missions were tolerated in a kindly way and officials were inclined to be patronizing, particularly where social service experiments were being carried out. But few in Government either at home or abroad in pre-war days really grasped the significance of a nation such as Great Britain having to shoulder the burden and responsibility for the future of a large part of Africa. The old saying that we "muddle through" has a measure of truth in it, but in this case everything depended upon the direction in which we "muddled."

It is significant of the quickened conscience of the nation that the attitude of the British people to Africa has undergone an extraordinary change in the last twenty-five years, and it is no exaggeration to say that missionaries have had an important formative influence in this transformation. In many parts of Africa they were the pioneers who explored unknown lands long before Governments thought these territories worth annexing. They were planning to educate African races years before Governments thought of educating them. They opened hospitals for the native people in advance of any one else.

III

As these lands were opened up and as they disclosed the value to Europe of their raw materials, their people came to have a commercial instead of a slave value, but it is only in comparatively recent times that the moral and spiritual value of the African has been at all appreciated. The growth in the sense of obligation to the African has led us through various stages until the Government began to speak of Africa as a sacred trust of civilization, and British policy in that continent was

declared to be to make the interest of the African native paramount. In regard to Kenya, a White Paper published by the Colonial Office in 1930 said:—

In the administration of Kenya His Majesty's Government regard themselves as exercising a trust on behalf of the African population and they are unable to delegate or share this trust, the object of which may be defined as the protection and advancement of the native races.¹

The same memorandum states that "persons of every race and of whatever religion have a right to equal treatment," and the Government in defining their policy in this way sought to safeguard the interests of those who were not able to stand up for themselves.

Such an ideal called for practical application, particularly in the realm of education and medical services. An Advisory Committee on African Education was set up at the Colonial Office, and some solid thinking has been done on the meaning of education in terms of the African. "The first task of education," it was declared, "is to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the peoples," and to this was added another, namely, that provision must be made for the training of natives required to fill posts in the administration. Two lines of policy therefore emerge: first, character training as the basis of education, and secondly, the aim to equip natives to fill posts of trust and responsibility. This implies that education should be so planned as to produce an increasing number of African leaders for all walks of life. How startling this sounds when one thinks of the race prejudices of not

¹ *Memorandum on Native Policy*, No. 3573, 1930.

many years ago. But if education were defined in these terms only, it would be restrictive in its range. "Education," the Government said, "must affect all life. Through it there must be a steady improvement of health conditions, economic stability, intelligence, general efficiency, and social co-operation by the general population in order to build up a sound social life."

The ideal now expands, and we see an enlarging vision of education as a process by which a new social order may be introduced into African life. To accomplish this we are told that there must be radical "changes in ideas, customs, and social institutions."¹ What Government saw would happen is now taking place in most parts of Africa. The old sanctions are inevitably losing their hold, and as this happens the sense of social obligation has to be re-created in some new form. The school, therefore, becomes the key to the position, since it carries a moral responsibility for implanting new motives, new social services, and fresh hopes in the Africans.

If these things are to be realized even in a small measure, then the main emphasis, says the Colonial Office Committee, must fall on *rural* education. For this reason the Government seek to help the growth of rural communities in which the school is related to the general advancement of the community as a whole. That is to say, education must be related to questions of poverty, insanitary conditions, ignorance, superstitious beliefs, and defects in the social system. The point to be noted is that these things cannot be departmentalized and dealt with in isolation. They must form part of the whole educational programme.

¹ See *Memorandum on Education of African Communities*, No. 103. Published by the Colonial Office in 1935.

This has far wider implications than at first appear; for example, the teaching of the children in the schools cannot be separated from the health conditions of the home. For this reason health propaganda and adult education must go hand in hand with what the children learn in school. Gradually all the factors in life are co-ordinated, and education has to be so planned as to fit the boy for the kind of life he will live when he leaves the school. In most cases this involves the linking together in some way agriculture and the school. Pupils are to be taught new ideas, shown how to cultivate plots of land and to take a real interest in their environment. Thus the teacher will be expected to create in the mind of his pupils an intelligent interest in the processes of nature, the changing seasons, the life of plants, birds, and animals; the customs of tribes, folk-lore, stories, arts and crafts, and thus to strengthen the loyalties and social bonds of native society. The teacher has, however, a double task. He must interpret the environment of the pupils with its wealth and colour and tradition and he must also in some measure interpret the new world into which the African is being introduced. And what a strange world it is.

Every imaginable discovery of science that goes to make up the modern world in which we live is being used in the development of Africa. In bewilderment the native peoples watch their country changing from day to day out of all recognition. The old order is passing away, and a new order has come, with changes so rapid and kaleidoscopic that in them lie the danger of the era of transition.

The Government also attach great importance to girls' education. It is not enough that small girls are allowed

to attend boys' schools. The whole problem of female education has to be faced in a new way. The Government wish to see the training of teachers' wives extended, and they desire to secure a larger number of European women teachers. Thus we see far-reaching plans, great ideals, and noble efforts for the development of Africa, so that the school in a village may become a centre of inspiration where, out of school hours, older people can come and thrash out their problems, discuss new methods for the improvement of their crops, and obtain news of the outside world.

How is all this to be accomplished? It is one thing to put on paper a scheme for character building and the deliverance of people from superstitions and fears, and quite another to carry it into effect. Character building means changing human nature, and our Government have declared that they welcome the contribution of religion to the moral advancement of the individual and the community. In this connexion we read: "Christian Missions fill so large a place, at the present time, in African education and welfare work, and are in such close touch with the life of the people that if they are willing to co-operate, they could render large assistance in the practical carrying out of the desired programme."

"Some Missions," we are told, "are already doing excellent work in the field of social betterment, and where the Church possesses social vision and a wide community outlook it may be a powerful ally in the carrying out of the comprehensive programme of social advance which is advocated." This is further amplified thus: "Not only may it [the Church] help to supply the motive and the inspiration for unselfish community

service, but when the broader view of the purposes of education is taken, the intimate relation between Church and school in African villages is seen to 'have a large educational significance.'¹

Thus we see how Government's policy in the most critical period of African history calls for the co-operation and help of the Christian Church. In this they seek to give every opportunity to voluntary agencies (such as Missions) to experiment along their own lines. They favour a plan of devolution by which responsibility for education shall be increasingly entrusted to local authorities. It is recommended that efforts should be made to interest the chiefs and village elders in this work, and wherever possible that they should be given a voice in the management of the schools.

It is interesting to notice how closely all this follows the missionary policy in Church building and the devolution of authority to Native Church Councils. We have travelled a long way from the days when the African had merely a commercial or sale value to a recognition of trusteeship, but surely from what has been said we are rapidly reaching a still higher stage when trusteeship gives place to partnership in which white and black co-operate in building a new Africa. We see that Governments in the British protectorates seek to educate the Africans on African lines, and in doing so, to exercise care in the application of western standards. They wish to make the school the centre of the rural community life and through it to raise up a native leadership upon which they can devolve increasing responsibility. In seeking to accomplish this they recognize the place of religion in African life and the contribution

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

of Missions, and therefore welcome co-operation with the Church in the uplift of the people.

The missionary has approached his task from a different angle, but he finds himself in substantial agreement with Government in their educational ideals. The official sees his problem from the angle of administration; the missionary sees it from the point of view of the Church. The Government officially recognize the value of religion as a contributing factor in the civilization of Africa; the missionary, however, holds that Christianity is not merely a factor but the saving element in the situation, because it is in the message of Jesus Christ that there lie those spiritual and moral forces which alone can build up true character. The Government are of necessity largely influenced by the material interests of a community and are apt to judge progress by material gains; while the missionary seeks to achieve spiritual values in the building up of the Church. But both Government and missionary are on common ground in their desire to see that the African is educated. They try to think out together the education of the community because in this both have a single aim in a re-created village life, the one through sound administration and the other through the Christian faith.

Government have a threefold aim in their interpretation of trusteeship. They seek to safeguard the physical welfare of the people, to secure their intellectual development, and to foster their moral progress. But these touch the missionary and his policy at every point, for he has for half a century and more sought to strengthen the physical health of the people through hospitals and dispensaries; he was first in the field in education, and through the teaching of the Gospel he is doing more for

moral progress than any one else. Where the missionary has to maintain his own policy as distinct from that of Government, is in his aim to win Africans for Christ, in his building up of the Church as an indigenous and witnessing body, and in his primary allegiance to the Kingdom of God.

Three stages in education are noticeable in Africa: the first, the period before the British occupation in East Africa, that is roughly from about 1846 to 1891; the second, from the British occupation to the setting up of an Education Department, that is from 1891 to 1911; and the third, from 1911 onward. In the first stage the Missions were the only agency for education, all of which was in their hands. In the second stage the system of educational grants-in-aid to Missions was initiated, and in the third stage this system was greatly developed and native interest in education grew very rapidly. The latest development of this last stage is now, however, appearing. Government are opening schools of their own. In Kenya, apart from thirty-three village schools conducted by Government, education among the Africans is still entirely in the hands of the Missions. Pupils in government schools in 1934 numbered 3911, while those in non-government schools numbered 83,615.

In regard to medical work we are told that up to 1913 the primary functions of the Medical Department were the medical care of government servants, including the troops and the police, and the control of epidemic diseases in centres of trade or administration. At the same time such measure of medical relief as was possible was provided for the African public at the hospitals and dispensaries which had been established at administrative centres. The establishment of hospitals primarily for the

relief of the general public was not undertaken by Government until much later.

The fact that Governments are seeking to co-operate with Missions in their tasks compels us to survey the whole situation very carefully. It is a remarkable thing that the government policy of working through the Missions in education developed at a time when most missionary societies were suffering acutely from the economic depression, and advance on any large scale would have been impossible. Through the grants from Government educational work developed rapidly, and the C.M.S. has been enabled by government aid alone to send out large re-inforcements. During the decade 1926-36 also the membership of the non-Roman Churches in Africa increased from 2,629,000 to 3,593,000. To the latter figure must be added some 6,000,000 Roman Catholics. It is fair, therefore, to say that the era of co-operation with Government has also been the era of greatest advance in Missions in Africa. There is more than coincidence between these two sets of figures. It is not accidental that the most fruitful evangelistic agency in Africa is the village school. The Government, in making grants, have never imposed any restriction in regard to religious instruction, and Missions have had a perfectly free hand to teach the Bible daily and to make the schools evangelistic centres.

While this is true, Missions no less than Government are at the parting of the ways. If they fail now they may lose this priceless blessing—the opportunity of imparting religious education. Were the Government to take over the entire educational system in Africa the schools would almost inevitably become secular, and the loss thus entailed to the Church and the peoples would be beyond

calculation. Missions, therefore, must set their house in order and face the immense task that lies before them.

We turn now to see how far mission policy coincides with that of Government. As we have seen, the interest of the latter in African education is comparatively recent, and, coming as it does with all the weight of the Colonial Office behind it, there is great need for careful collaboration and patience. If Governments are critical of much in missionary education it is because they want to see new and higher standards attained, because they have a new conception of the place of education in African life, and because they want the child taught in relation to his environment. But the pressure for better education comes by no means only from the Governments. The African himself is demanding greater facilities and a higher standard of education, and this is perhaps the most significant thing of all. People who fifty years ago had never heard of education, whose language had not been reduced to writing, and who knew nothing of the outside world, are now sending their sons to England and America for university education, and are demanding insistently the best education that Europe has to offer.

Criticisms of mission schools differ widely. Professor Julian Huxley argues that "with few but notable exceptions missionary endeavour puts conversion far above education, concentrates as much as possible on religious teaching and often, though this attitude is decreasing, sees in secular knowledge merely a bait with which to angle for souls."¹ What the missionary objects to in this type of criticism is that it assumes that the only education worthy of the name is secular, and that it divorces

¹ *Africa View*, p. 328.

religion from education. The missionary may and must emphasize religion in the schools, but in doing so he knows that apart from religion no true character building will be possible in Africa. A more cogent criticism is that missionaries do not always relate their education to the social environment of the people. While there is some truth in this, yet it is fair to say that the missionary relates his school work to the environment of the pupils more successfully than any one else. It is easy to sit at home and say what ought to be done. It is another matter to live among a native people, in a rural community as missionaries do, and there to work out the theories of education in all their bearings on the scientific findings of anthropology and biology, and in the social and economic life of the area.

But criticism makes us ask in these days if organized educational schemes mainly of a secular character, with their multitude of regulations and syllabuses, of standards to be attained, examinations to be passed, and forms to be filled in, and the continual drive and strain of a routine job, whether after all we are achieving any real missionary purpose. The answer is emphatically—Yes. The missionary is fulfilling a real purpose. In the first place he is building up an educational system on a religious basis. By every day's teaching he is opposing the secularizing of the schools. He is building up through the schools a fellowship in the community which is both Christian and African. He is inculcating a spirit of worship which is clean, healthy, and ennobling. The daily Bible lesson is incidental to the whole spiritual emphasis on the curriculum, for religion is not taught merely during set periods of instruction; it is absorbed through lives that are lived in conscious communion with God.

The real heart of a mission school is the fellowship it creates between staff and pupil, a fellowship which is a reflection of a deeper experience of communion with God. This experience finds fuller expression in the worship of the community, and it is for this reason that the Church, not the school, must really be at the heart of the community.

IV

There is in theory at least, if not in practice, a difference of policy between Missions and Governments. Missions are definitely seeking to establish the Church of God in Africa. They have no faith in social uplift, or to use the language of the day, a new social order, without a change of heart through the dynamic of the Gospel. The missionary therefore can never become merely an agent of the Government. He must maintain his freedom and independence of action in order to secure that the essential mission of the Church shall be carried out. Whatever his vocation, whether educational or medical, he must be first and foremost a practising and witnessing Christian. Whenever the mission school in its aim and purpose becomes detached from or independent of the Church then to that extent it fails in its purpose. The educational missionary faces enormous difficulties to-day because in carrying on his work he receives so much advice, while for him there is no escape from the responsibility of thinking and re-thinking the problem of the function of the school in relation to the Church. His work must present a wholeness of purpose which correlates every activity and unites all in the divine plan for the Body of Christ. "We must realize

that the aim and controlling principle of everything we do inside and outside the school is to bring boys and girls, men and women, into a rich fellowship with God and into close personal relationships with one another. Our purpose is to develop the life of fellowship in which personal character grows into the pattern of this perfection of Jesus.”¹

The school looms very large in the scheme of things, but Missions are working to a plan by which every activity of the community centres in the worship of the Church. If the element of worship is weak the Church will become self-centred, and instead of reaching out to others it will seek to find its main concern in itself. Its concern must ever be the glory of God and the working out of His purpose in the entire life of the community, and this involves a spirit of worship which creates unselfish service, devotion, and loyalty. The Church is “a fellowship of Christians bound together by the unity of a deep loyalty to the vision of God in Jesus Christ and dedicated to the common purpose of doing His will and spreading His Gospel.”²

One of the first things that has to be learnt by any race on becoming Christian is the true value of human life. Missionaries have wisely taught this by example, through medical work. If the school requires to be coordinated to the growing young Church, no less does the hospital. The care of sick and suffering people is an integral part of the Gospel and therefore has a spiritual significance. This can be better understood as we examine the healing ministry of our Lord. His healing was not a method of combating hostility. He did not heal

¹ *The Relation of Schools and Colleges to the Life of the Church*, J. W. C. Dougall, p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 18.

the sick in order to attract an audience. He did not even use His miracles as proofs of His Messiahship. Dr. Dugald Christie, speaking at a conference in China in 1907, asked the question: "Why did Christ spend so much of His earthly life in the relief of mere physical distress which, in the nature of things, must before long be ended by death?" and he gave the answer that Christ came as the supreme revelation of that Father Who numbers the very hairs of our head; and that such revelation meant the redemption of the whole man, physically, mentally, and spiritually.

The International Missionary Conference at Tambaram spoke with great clarity on this subject in its sectional report on *The Christian Ministry of Health and Healing*. Here are some brief extracts:—

The sanction and compelling motive of this ministry are found in the very nature of God, which is revealed in Jesus Christ as redeeming love. God's redemptive purpose embraces the entire range of man's spiritual, mental, and physical need, and offers the one sure hope for a world in which sin and suffering abound. Through the Church, which is His Body, the living Christ ministers to the needs of men. His command both to the twelve and to the seventy was to preach and to heal. His commission has never been withdrawn. "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you." In His ministry our Lord recognized, moreover, a divine compulsion to vindicate God's good name. "I must work the works of him that sent me."

The Church exists to continue the work that Christ began. As He identified Himself with the

need and suffering of the world, so must His disciples identify themselves with that need and suffering, that the redeeming love of God may be mediated through them to the lives of others. Mindful of the value that God has set on human personality, and animated by the spirit of compassion that moved the Great Physician, the Church will follow Him in methods of service that express His mission. . . .

The ministry of health and healing belongs to the essence of the Gospel and is, therefore, an integral part of the mission to which Christ has called, and is calling, His Church.¹

The medical mission, therefore, is no mere appendage to general missionary efforts, but is rather something Christ-like without which a young Church cannot be complete. It is one of the means by which the Father expresses His abounding love to all mankind. It is for this reason that medical missions must be regarded, not as having a merely temporary value in opening the way for the Gospel, creating evangelistic opportunities and helping the work in its pioneer stages, but much more as a permanent element in the life of the Church. *The Times*, in an article in its issue of October 15, 1927, wrote:—

The medical missionaries hear the bitter cry of pain in lands where there are few who have access to the resources of modern science. And in the glow of love which Christianity inspires they go to the lands where the need is sorest. There is but one fight against disease in this modern world; no nation caring for its health can afford to guard itself and neglect others. In order to track diseases to their

¹ *The World Mission of the Church*, pp. 93, 94.

source, there is need for a combined movement in every land; none can be secure till all are secure. Men suffer together; they will be healed together. The medical missionaries, because of their faith and compassion, chose the section of the one front where the line is thinnest.

This, however, is only a part of the real situation. The history of the Christian Church shows that the medical missionary has not only selected the countries "where the line is thinnest," but has been the pioneer before any line existed at all. In other words, the attitude of modern civilization to the sickness and suffering of the world is primarily due not to the advancing strides of civilization, but to the life and example of Jesus Christ. He changed as no one before or since has ever done the world's estimate of the value of human life.

Our Lord said: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord."¹

Dr. Stanley Jones in his book *Christ and Communism* gives a fresh interpretation of this passage which illustrates the point we are discussing. He says our Lord was proclaiming good news to four classes of people: (1) The economically disinherited, "the poor"; (2) the socially and politically disinherited, "the captives"; (3) the physically disinherited, "the blind"; (4) the morally and spiritually disinherited, "the bruised." Here in terse form we have the Gospel meeting the whole life of man,

¹ St. Luke iv. 18, 19.

and it is surely true to-day that the Spirit of the Lord is operating through the Church now in measure as it did through Christ the Head, and the evangelization of the world must include at least three expressions of service—a teaching mission, through education; a healing mission, through hospital, dispensary, and welfare centre; and a preaching mission through which the Gospel is proclaimed as the way of life for the whole man. This is demonstrated in Africa in hospitals such as that at Mengo, in the leper settlements at Ng'ora, Bunyonyi, and in Nigeria, in schools for the blind as in Cairo, and maternity centres as in Uganda. People who in pagan days regarded life as very cheap are learning Christ's value of it, and through medical work the young Churches are developing a social consciousness, a responsibility as their brothers' keepers, and are joining forces with the missionaries in their efforts to bring healing and comfort to the suffering people in their midst.

The explorer Speke, when relating his experiences in Uganda in 1862, said: "Nearly every day, incredible as it may seem, I have seen one, two, or three of the wretched palace women led away to execution, tied by the hands and dragged along by one of the bodyguard, crying out as she went to a premature death: 'Oh my Lord, my King, my Mother,' at the top of her voice in the utmost despair, and yet there was not a soul who dared lift a hand to save one of them." To-day the same country is dotted over with maternity and welfare centres, and the daughters of this land, descendants of those very women who suffered in earlier days, now serve as nurses and midwives. The infant mortality formerly was from 500 to 800 per thousand, and the

Baganda were coming to be regarded as a dying race. To-day the infant mortality in the central kingdom of Buganda is 130 per thousand, and Uganda has a growing population and a virile, strong people. What has made the difference? The answer is simply, Jesus Christ. It is due to Him and His message that Africa has learnt to serve and to save life.

We have seen how a hope which seemed forlorn in 1844 and 1845 in East and West Africa has resulted in a revolution in the life of the African. We have traced some of the stages of development. We must now gather up the threads and try to see the Church in being, functioning to-day as an indigenous body and growing through its own inherent life and witness.

In the C.M.S. service in Africa to-day there are 438 missionaries. They are classified as follows:—

Ordained men	88
Laymen	74
Wives	116
Single women	160

It is impossible to say how many African workers there are because the Mission merges into the Church and the Church engages its own workers. Work, therefore, initiated by the C.M.S. has passed far beyond the boundaries of the missionary society and has become the Church in Africa. In the Uganda Protectorate there are 131 C.M.S. missionaries; and there are also 3000 bush-school teachers, provided for by the Church in Uganda. There are 1649 teachers in primary and secondary schools for whom the Society has no financial responsibility. Seventy-one Baganda clergy, 2885 laymen, and

241 women workers are all paid for by the local Church. Here then is a self-supporting Church with a baptized membership of over 200,000. The centre of church life in Uganda is the great cathedral, which crowns the Namirembe Hill and can be seen for many miles around. Namirembe means the Hill of Peace, a significant name, for the very war drums which formerly called men to battle are now used to summon people to worship. Once the converts were martyred for their faith and the little Church rocked to its foundations. Now the country is covered over with Christian churches and schools, and the faith of Christ has stamped itself upon the community so that the glory of the people to-day is that they have a Church of their own. When Bishop Tucker arrived in Uganda in 1890 there were about 200 baptized Christians, and to-day, as we have seen, there are 200,000 and many of the people remember the arrival of Bishop Tucker.

The cathedral, which is dedicated to St. Paul, was built at a cost of £28,000, of which £18,000 was contributed by the people of the country themselves. Inside this wonderful building are the memorials of the early days of struggle and difficulty. The Hannington Chapel speaks of days of persecution, and close by is a tablet to the memory of the Baganda boys who were killed in the swamps. The Canterbury Cross of Fellowship, which is sent to all overseas dioceses by the Archbishop of Canterbury, is on one of the pillars near the pulpit, a reminder that this Church of Uganda is part of the great Church Universal. In 1937 the Church celebrated its diamond jubilee in this cathedral. All the tribes of Uganda, once split asunder by deadly feud, were represented at the service, now bound together in a new

unity, for they are all members of the One Church. Close by the cathedral is God's acre, where Mackay, Hannington, and many others are buried. At the jubilee service in the cathedral were some who first found Christ through Mackay, who arrived in Uganda in 1877, and some who could look back over the whole period of sixty years during which this Church has grown from nothing to what it is to-day.

During the two years preceding the Diamond Jubilee a special evangelistic campaign was carried out all over the diocese. In the first year retreats and services were held for the clergy, teachers, and other workers, and in the second year the Church took up the call, hundreds of open-air meetings were held, and the Gospel was proclaimed far and wide by voluntary bands of African workers. The thought underlying this plan of campaign was that first of all revival should be sought in the Church and then, through a quickened Church, a new witness, a great evangelistic appeal could be made to all who did not know Christ. The methods of working by teams was largely employed, and wherever these teams of men and women went signs followed. The Church was bearing its own witness and many found life abundant in Christ.

What is said of Uganda is in its own measure true of other parts of Africa, and because the Churches are witnessing in this way Christianity is spreading in Africa at a greater rate than in any other part of the world. In Africa last year in C.M.S. Missions alone converts were won at the rate of 1000 every week. Although numbers are not necessarily a true test of a Church's strength, they are here an evidence of the witness of the Church, for the vast majority of these converts were won

by the evangelistic effort of Africans. These figures of course refer only to one society, and in seeking to assess the progress of the Kingdom of God in Africa it should be remembered that other societies are at work and are meeting with similar success. This is true, for example, of the Presbyterians in East Africa, the Methodists and others in West Africa, and of a number of interdenominational organizations all engaged in seeking to make Africa Christian.

The period from 1927 to 1937 for many societies marks a time in missionary history of financial stringency, and of reduction both in grants and in the number of missionaries. At one time it looked as though the work abroad would be greatly reduced, but a survey in 1937 revealed the remarkable fact that the Churches in Africa had nearly doubled their membership during that period, and that in scores of stations there had been a steady advance. The missionaries never lost hope for the future and displayed no spirit of defeatism or pessimism. Young missionaries have assumed the burdens carried by their seniors a decade before, and are breaking new ground, revealing a splendid initiative, and courageously planning for the days that lie ahead. There is a growing spirit of unity and fellowship among the missionaries of many societies. Overlapping of work, or encroachment by one Mission upon the area served by another has largely ceased. Whatever may be the achievements of the past, the missionary of to-day is not living in the past. He has a forward-looking mind. He sees his task and he faces it with all the zest and eagerness of the pioneers of fifty years ago; for the task is by no means finished, and the day of the missionary society is by no means over. The missionary is indeed more needed now than ever before.

The problems facing the Church, with its old pagan background, are many. A Church surrounded by strong pagan force either carries on an aggressive war into pagan territories and changes its environment, or paganism makes its impact on the Church. Where the Church goes forward it does so by its spiritual vitality, bred and fostered in worship and prayer. It is when the Church loses its first love that it becomes the object of every form of attack from outside. The Church to be in Africa will fulfil its divine mission if it can be helped through this material age and shown that the realities of life are not the things seen, but the things which are not visible to human sight, that the spiritual is the real and the permanent. To achieve this the young Church must be taught intensively the meaning of worship. To quote again a conclusion reached at Tambaram:—

We have evidence that a true and deep life of united worship is not only an essential preparation for the evangelistic witness of any group, but is in itself no unimportant part of their witness to the fellowship of the Gospel.¹

Prayer, private and corporate, must be given a large place in all Church planning.

The influence of the missionary is still incalculable, and the Africans beg us not to withdraw missionaries at a time when they most need spiritual help. The large increase in church membership involves careful preparation for baptism, detailed teaching over a long period for confirmation, to secure that we do not build up a semi-pagan Church. This danger is so real that it compels

¹ *The World Mission of the Church*, p. 65.

both Church and Mission to demand from all who undertake missionary service in Africa, whether as doctor, educationist, or in other branches of the work, a maximum contribution on the spiritual side. The African Christian does not look for a missionary who goes out to teach in a school and regards that as the fulfilment of his service. He demands of himself and no less of the missionary that he share his spiritual life and experience with others, and take his part in the direct religious activities of the Church. In other words, the African appeals to the missionary societies to send them missionaries, but only missionaries with a spiritual message. What the Church in Africa is saying is something like this: "We thank you for every civilizing influence, but we know now that civilization is not enough. We thank you for your medical service, but we are learning that even this form of social service is not enough. What we need supremely is the Gospel of Jesus Christ, for only in that Gospel can we find new life and the power to live it, only in the Gospel can we overcome evil and dethrone the fears and superstitions that have so long held us in bondage. You give us from your rich heritage and experience the treasures of God's grace and love that we too may become true Christians, strong and free."

One African chief expressed in a letter his gratitude for all that the C.M.S. has done for his country through education and medical service, and he added: "All the above are great things, but the greatest of all is the light of the Gospel. The people which sat in darkness saw a great light, and to them light is sprung up. This light has penetrated into all departments of human life; truth, mercy, and justice are being administered. This

light has entered into the social life of the people, and hatred among the different tribes is being gradually extinguished. This light has entered into the homes and it is driving away the ill-treatment of wives by their husbands and teaching us the value of a monogamous marriage. This light has taken away all fear of witchcraft. In conclusion, we would have you know that we are still children. We need your help, support, and guidance. We are depending on you."

To sum up: the policy developed by Missions over a period of more than a hundred years of work in Africa has been one of consistent emphasis upon the essential factor of the Church. To achieve this there have been many expressions of Christian service. In the early days slavery and the care of freed slaves occupied much of the time of the missionaries, for they never sought merely to *preach* a Gospel. They *lived* it and exemplified it in their demands for freedom for slaves and justice for all. To them the Gospel meant a genuine care for the welfare of the people. Thus Bishop Tugwell fought the liquor traffic in West Africa, and others have exposed the exploitation of the natives to supply cheap labour. In order to understand the African point of view missionaries have made a careful study of anthropology, and indeed have contributed largely to our anthropological knowledge of the various races and tribes.

Another principle of church growth in Africa is that developments should be related to the tribe. This is necessary because the unit is not the individual but the tribe. Particular emphasis is placed by African Christians upon monogamy as the only moral basis for the family life of the people. A Church is being called out from a surrounding polygamous pagan people which is

characterized by its rule of monogamy—an innovation in Africa's history.

A striking illustration of this is also to be found in the report of the Madras Conference. The African delegates had assembled from all parts of the great continent. They were therefore representative of Christian opinion in Africa as a whole. They were repeatedly asked whether in their opinion as Africans monogamy was possible in view of the age-long practice of polygamy. In expressing the unanimous opinion of all African delegates they said:—

The question is raised as to whether monogamy is essential to Christianity or is merely a factor in European civilization—whether in the practice of polygamy there is something radically incompatible with a vital faith in Christ, and living of a true life in fellowship with Him. . . . This is not a matter to be settled by the individual conscience—the criterion is the will of God for the people whom He has redeemed and purified in Christ. Monogamy is not a mere factor of civilization; it is vital to the life of the Church and its value has been realized in its own experiences. . . . Both for man and for woman polygamy militates against the attainment of the fulness of life which is in Christ (pp. 157, 158).

The bush school has been the basis of all religious education. These village vernacular schools were at first simply catechetical centres, but as education has developed their standards have been raised. But even so the entire Church to-day insists on retaining them and on their religious character being kept to the fore. It

has been a principle of Missions in Africa to develop the education of the people and to make it thoroughly Christian. This has become possible as nowhere else in the world through the willingness of Governments to educate the people through missionary agencies.

In many parts of Africa, Missions have adopted co-education and notably in Kenya they refuse to divide the schools on a sex basis. In Africa the Church is a community of service, and one tribe to-day serves another in unselfish ways, as for example the Baganda women in their maternity work among all the tribes of Uganda. And the hospital with its ministry of healing has become an integral part of the Church's work.

Democratic control of the Church through parochial and diocesan councils is accepted in most mission areas, and the missionary takes his place in a new native-controlled church system. With a policy of self-government there goes self-support, and few Churches in the world have done more to provide for their clergy, teachers, churches, and schools. The policy of teaching the Africans that the Church is their Church and is African in content and control has succeeded wonderfully, and the African to-day is proud of *his* Church. It is interesting to note that as in India so in Africa, the Church is mainly composed of village folk, and that Africans move towards Christianity by tribes as the outcastes of India move by communities. The Church in Africa to-day has entered into a partnership with the Church of Great Britain, and is working for the day when the whole continent will be Christian and when the One Church throughout Africa shall be African throughout with its own African bishops and leaders, educationists and doctors. In the meantime our policy is to co-operate

with our African brethren towards those ideals which will bring the Kingdom of God into all realms of life throughout the great continent and beyond, for the young Churches are increasingly taking their place in the fellowship of the Church Universal.

CHAPTER IV

FAILURES AND SUCCESSES IN THE FAR EAST

SYNOPSIS

I

The Hsian-fu monument in China. Survival of Buddhism and Islam and extinction of Nestorian Christianity—causes investigated. What are the survival values of Christianity? Mongol period. Roman Missions. Lessons of the period. The Reformation, a deciding factor in the missionary situation.

II

Marshman in India. Morrison in China. Western impacts on China. Treaties. Missionaries as interpreters of East to West and West to East. Missionary pioneers. The beginnings of a Church—foreign protection—missionary supervision—an indigenous Church. Missionary institutions and Chinese control.

III

Growth of Missions. Literature. Awakening in China, a new republic, nationalism, and extra-territoriality. Communism. The Jerusalem Conference and the Five Year Movement in China—a new evangelism. Anti-Christian elements and influence on education. Missionary losses in recent years. A persecuted Church. Medical work and transfer of control to Chinese doctors. The Church emerges through storms—still a living, witnessing Church.

CHAPTER IV

AS WE STUDY the problems of world-evangelization we find they can only be fully understood and interpreted in the light of the past history of the Church. How eloquent to him who will pause to ponder are the stones of the Damascus mosque with their Christian message; the Indian mound which marks the traditional site of the martyrdom of St. Thomas; and the cross on the grassy slope of the Mombasa coast. Similarly a remarkable lesson is conveyed by the inscription on the stone column in Hsian-fu, the only known memorial of a long story of early Christianity in China. In turning to the study of the Christian story in the Far East, let us see what the column at Hsian-fu has to tell us.

I

The monument was originally erected in the year A.D. 781, so its records relate to a period more than eleven and a half centuries ago. For a long time it was buried, but quite by accident it was discovered and unearthed in 1623, and it is still in a remarkably good state of preservation. For some years it was regarded as a forgery, but its genuineness has long been established and it is now accepted as a historical document in stone of great importance.

It describes itself as a "Eulogy on a Monument commemorating the propagation of the Luminous Religion."

God is One "Who being uncreated is the origin of origins, Who is ever incomprehensible and invisible." After speaking of the creation and fall of man it states: "Hereupon one Person of our Trinity, the Messiah, Who is the Luminous Lord of this Universe, veiling His true majesty, appeared upon earth as a man. Angels proclaimed the glad tidings. A Virgin gave birth to the Holy One. A bright star announced the blessed event. Persians saw the splendour and came forth with their tribute." The Christian community it is said "keep neither male nor female slaves. Putting all men on an equality, they make no distinction between the noble and the mean. They neither accumulate property nor wealth, but giving all they possess they set a good example to others." It then tells how the Emperor in A.D. 635 "being deeply convinced of its [the Christian faith] truth" gave special orders for its propagation, and a manuscript was issued recommending the faith to all. The inscription then proceeds to describe the varying fortunes of the Christian religion in China. "The law of the Luminous Religion spread throughout the ten provinces and the Empire enjoyed great peace and concord." This brings the story down to 698-9 when "the Buddhists raised their voices against the Luminous Religion . . . and some inferior scholars ridiculed and derided it." Evidently this was a critical period, for a bishop, an archdeacon, and other clergy came to co-operate "in restoring the great fundamental principles and united together to re-bind the broken ties." The reign of the Emperor Hsuan-tsung (A.D. 712-755) is described and also his warm support of the Christian religion. Thus we read: "The gifts of Imperial favour are immense, like the highest peak of the highest mountains in the south and

the flood of its rich benevolence is as deep as the depths of the Eastern sea.”

The story is carried down to the reign of the Emperor Chien-chung (A.D. 780) and it closes with a eulogy of the Emperor: “The most glorious and accomplished sovereign surpassed all his predecessors in upholding ‘the way.’”

This stone monument is surely one of outstanding significance, for it reveals something of the struggles of the Nestorian missionaries and the difficulties they encountered in spite of the strong support they received from the Emperor, and it explains the Christian influences upon the civilization of the Ch’ang-an period. Let us briefly put the facts recorded on the column into their historical setting.

China, though essentially Confucian, has been the watershed of other religions—of Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity, each of which in turn has tried to win this vast country to its faith. The struggles of centuries ultimately drove the Buddhists into the high altitudes of Tibet, where in the fastnesses of the mountains they were left to develop their faith. Thus a religion which gained a remarkable hold upon both India and China found itself in a buffer State, between the two. Islam entered China through an invading Arab army, and to-day there are about twelve million Moslems in China, many of whom still display Arab features and characteristics. Christianity had in many ways a more favourable opportunity of success than either of the other two religions, yet it failed so completely that in the end no living trace remained of a once strong Church; nothing was left to mark the work of two and a half centuries except the stone monument in Hsian-fu. Why did Buddhism survive

and find a home in Tibet? Why did Islam succeed in gaining a strong position in China and in holding it down the centuries? And why did Christianity fail and ultimately disappear from China altogether? If we can answer these questions satisfactorily we shall render a real service to missionaries at work overseas in our day.

Christianity was brought to China by Nestorian missionaries, probably during the time of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907). The conditions for its introduction were very favourable for in those days of prosperity visitors came to the Chinese court from many lands, and a broad tolerance was exercised in religious matters. The ruling Emperor listened with interest to the new teaching and ordered that Christian books should be translated, and that facilities should be given to the missionaries for the dissemination of the Christian faith, which, as we see from the inscription, came to be known as the "Luminous Religion." Thus the way was opened in all directions for evangelism, monasteries were built, and a patriarch was appointed to the Church of China. But although the Church had the power of the State and the authority of an ecclesiastical system behind it, it fell on evil days, for in the year 845 it was proscribed by a Taoist emperor, and in the tenth century a monk reported on his return from China that he had been unable to find any Christians in that country.

The Christian faith came, flourished, and died. Why? Was it because the Christian mission had begun to depend upon the civil authority? Was it too ecclesiastical? No superficial answer to these questions will suffice because almost at the same time Moslems brought their faith to China, and although they had neither

priests nor monks, although they had no funds and no paid preachers, yet they succeeded and survived through stormy periods, and their adherents number millions to-day. There was between the Christian and the Moslem methods of work one outstanding difference. In Islam every convert was a witness to his faith, his service was voluntary, his mosque was a centre of democratic, social, and religious life, his only authority was his Prophet, his one book the Koran. Moslems took their faith, as it were, in their stride, it was not a mission, it was themselves. In the case of the Nestorians the whole approach to the Chinese people was different. They went with a mission, the object of which was definitely the winning of Chinese to the Christian faith.

Is the answer to this perplexing problem to be found in racial differences, in the insistence on an ecclesiastical system, or in the method of teaching the faith? Some may give one explanation, others will offer another, but we shall never be able to find an adequate answer. The important issue for us is how the lesson of it all can be learnt by the missionary leaders of our own day.

The world is strewn over with the extinct volcanoes of Christian Churches of a bygone age. Where in days gone by the blazing light of the Gospel shot up to the skies in brilliant witness to an unseen divine power, to-day there is nothing but the barrenness of cold ashes, a witness to something extinct, dead.

Let us apply this to China. Very little is known about the Church in that country in those early days, but it is doubtful whether it ever really became indigenous, or had any permanent or marked influence on Chinese life, thought, art, or religion. Practically nothing has come down in Chinese art, for example, that can be attributed

to Christian influence, and the same is true of religion. Life seems to have been much the same in China after Christianity had disappeared as it was before it came. Another line of inquiry might have regard to the particular doctrines taught by the Nestorians in China. The Hsian-fu monument speaks of God as Creator, and it gives an outline of Christian doctrine. It describes the moral qualities demanded by the faith and one part of the inscription probably refers to the Holy Communion. The mission did not lack support, for at one time there were over three thousand monks in the country. What appears most probable is that in seeking to secure quick results in the evangelization of China, the Nestorians, deliberately or otherwise, imposed, so to speak, their Christian teaching upon Buddhism by adopting Buddhist phraseology and methods of thought until possibly it lost its distinctiveness. It is certainly a historic fact that whenever Christianity loses its active evangelism it begins to decline.

A coincidence in the sphere of evangelism is to be seen in the fact that at the time when Nestorian missionaries were penetrating into China a group of Roman missionaries under the leadership of St. Augustine set out upon their mission to the British Isles. In the one case Christianity was extinguished within 250 years. In the other the faith which had been planted in different parts of Great Britain by the second century, had been developed throughout the Celtic period, and was re-inforced by the coming of St. Augustine, spread until in due course the Gospel which was brought to these once pagan islands was carried east again in the nineteenth century. And so we ask what are the elements in the Christian faith which give it survival value and

secure its continuance whatever the difficulties or persecution which may be encountered?

When China fell into disorder at the close of the T'ang dynasty the Church disappeared in the wreckage. Christianity had faced a similar situation in the break-up of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, but it was at that very time that St. Patrick crossed over to Ireland as an evangelist of his faith. He demonstrated then, and history has proved subsequently, that the Christian faith has powers that enable it to rise above disasters and to go from strength to strength when everything around falls to ruin. How instructive to those who are willing to learn is the history of the Church, with its story of defeats and losses, of conquests and expansion, of extinction in China, and of survival in Europe!

Another opportunity was offered to the Christian Church to evangelize China when the Mongols came into power. New trade routes were opened up between the Far East and Europe, and again a broad policy of tolerance was adopted in regard to religion. Traders found their way to the Mongol court, and with them went Christian missionaries. One of the Mongol leaders, Hulagu, married a Christian girl and had a chapel erected and attached to his camp. Once more the Christian faith came to China. The old Nestorianism had gone and in its place had come the emissaries of Rome. In Hangchow, now a strong C.M.S. mission centre, there was in Mongol days a Christian church. It should be noted, however, that for the second time Christianity was brought to China in the wake of an invader and thus was protected by the civil power, but it neither converted the foreigner, the Mongol, at whose invitation missionaries had come, nor did it win its way with the

Chinese themselves, and the result of this second attempt to evangelize China must be recorded as a failure.

It may be observed here that the missionaries in the first case were Nestorian and in the second case Roman, so that the fact has to be faced that it is not ecclesiastical faith and order, nor the acceptance of creeds, nor the teaching of dogma, nor the apostolic succession of its preachers, nor a valid priesthood that guarantee the Church against extinction. The real survival value in Christianity must be sought in other directions.

What then are the elements of permanence in the Christian Church? Will the close of another 250 years find only a stone monument to mark the life, sacrifice, and service of the missionaries of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, or will the future show how wisely the work was built and on what permanent foundations, revealing the Church as God's instrument for the bringing in of the Kingdom of God in all the world?

If the lessons of history are to be a guide it would seem that the Church has to learn that there is risk of failure if it relies upon State support, the prestige of an empire, or the influence of those in power. Again, if the foreign Mission retains control in its own hands, teaching the faith in its own way, relying upon foreign literature, establishing the Church as a foreign body, and encouraging it to develop in financial dependence upon foreign support, it is also courting disaster. Further, if the truth is expressed in foreign terms, or in a foreign language, if the Church is tied to particular views of theology or "convictions" or types of churchmanship, it may also fail. The Hsian-fu monument was erected as a standard of theology, it displayed a creed cut in stone, permanent

and enduring, yet it survived, not as the norm of orthodoxy, but as a witness to a lost faith!

Does history teach us anything here in regard to our modern methods of missionary work? Christianity is, as has already been said, not only a creed but a life, a life that can only be lived as it is indwelt by the Holy Spirit, that only finds its meaning and purpose in Jesus Christ, and has no fulfilment or end apart from Him. The strength of the Christian's faith lies in his spiritual experience; where that is dulled by sin or selfishness decline immediately sets in, and what is true of individuals is equally true of the body corporate. Personal experience in the individual is dependent on obedience to the will of God as revealed in Christ; in the Church it finds its source in corporate worship and witness. This was why St. Patrick, without waiting for orders, took the initiative in the midst of widespread disaster and carried the Gospel to Ireland. This, too, is why hosts of others, under the direct guidance of the Holy Spirit, have from time to time gone forth, often in the most adverse circumstances, to plant the Cross of Christ in some distant land. The lesson seems to be that the Church survives when the whole body, lay as well as clerical, is alive and propagating its living message, passing on that message to others who, in their turn, from the moment they receive it, accept a like responsibility for its dissemination. Thus, life begetting life, the Church grows.

One thing seems to be clear, though many may contest the point, that without the Reformation the world could never have been evangelized. For over a thousand years the Eastern Church, the Nestorians, and the Roman Catholics in turn, sought with great zeal to accomplish the task, but by the fifteenth century they were

almost back at the beginning of things. The formerly Christian lands of Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and North Africa had all been captured by Islam; the Church in India was moribund; in China it was dead; and the Christian community in the West was losing its hold upon Europe. The Church had expanded from Rome to China, from Jerusalem to India, and in country after country it had failed. Arabs and Mongols were not only lost to the Christian faith, but the loss re-acted upon the Church when they moved westwards and Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks.

We do not suggest—far be the thought—that Missions failed because they belonged to this Church or that, nor dare we argue that because our Missions are Protestant they must succeed. There are laws of the Kingdom which transcend the divisions of Christendom and which cannot be broken with impunity; there are laws of growth and expansion which if neglected spell the collapse of the work, and there is a meaning and reality in worship, the absence of which leads to sterility. The Reformation helped us to recover some of the lost elements in our faith and brought fresh enrichment into the Christian message, but it was largely along the line of spiritual experience, the soul's direct approach to God and the re-discovery of divine grace as mediated in the Cross that it made its greatest contribution to Christian life and experience. The Reformation did involve disruption and the break-up of western Christianity. But what we may have to learn is that over-centralization, such as obtained before the days of Luther, was not necessarily spiritual unity, but rather a rigid ecclesiastical uniformity from which the Church had to be liberated, so that ultimately it might achieve through

division a new unity which would be spiritual and therefore comprehensive and permanent.

The effective evangelization of the world had to wait for the Church's reformation, and it may well be that it will still have to wait for its fulfilment until the day comes when the Churches, now divided, will be united. It may be that our unhappy divisions make the real capture of the world for Christ impossible, but if so the Church is moving in the right direction and is seeking not the uniformity of the Roman system, but the unity of the Body of Christ which is a free fellowship of believers united in one bond, and controlled by one loyalty with Jesus Christ the Head over all.

II

Missionary work by non-Roman Churches was slow to develop, and the Churches in England, though reformed, for long showed considerably less enthusiasm for the evangelization of the world than the Roman Catholic Church. As we have seen, it was not until a spiritual awakening came that the call to carry the Good News to lands across the sea was really heard. Curiously enough the first Protestant missionary work on behalf of China began in India. Marshman, Carey's colleague at Serampore, spent fifteen years in translating the Bible into Chinese. The Serampore group were bold adventurers for the Kingdom, but they were also men of amazing vision. They thought in terms of a continent, and laid their plans for the spread of the Gospel through the translation of the Scriptures in the whole of Asia.

With the arrival of Morrison in China in 1807, Protestant Missions entered upon their first phase, but the first

twenty-five years can hardly be said to have been encouraging, for in all that period only ten Chinese were baptized. Progress was very slow. Chinese conservatism did not take kindly to this new religion, and still less kindly for the reason that it was presented to them by foreigners. Efforts were made to reach Chinese residents outside China and to send them back to their own country as messengers of the Gospel. Methods could but be slow and laborious; the main one was the circulation of the Scriptures and other Christian literature. By the year 1840 the number of converts was less than forty, and judged by outward or numerical results the mission to China might have been judged a failure.

A new factor had, however, been brought into operation in international affairs. There had begun for the first time in history a serious attempt to interpret Europe to China and China to Europe. Western literature was translated into the Chinese language, and books on China were written and circulated in Europe. Nevertheless the attitude of each to the other was anything but conciliatory. The Chinese regarded Europeans as "foreign devils," and Europeans in their turn looked upon the Chinese as ignorant idol worshippers, who bowed down to wood and stone. Honest interpretation was not easy. The missionary was tempted to exaggerate the evils of a Confucian system in China in order to throw into stronger relief the benefits of the Gospel, while the merchant interpreted what he saw of Chinese life in its relation to his trade. But in spite of narrowness of view on the one hand and selfishness on the other, there were laid the foundations of better appreciation of the East by the West, and a process began by which we in England at least have been able ever since increasingly to

appreciate China's culture, her literature and her wisdom, while on the other hand there have been placed at the disposal of the Chinese the fruits of western scientific discovery and learning. The medium for this mutual understanding was for many years the missionary, who with his knowledge of the Chinese language became a true interpreter and thus helped to bring the two civilizations closer to one another.

If Missions had been more effective in the early decades of the nineteenth century the history of China might have been very different. As it was, Great Britain misunderstood the China situation in 1840 and was thrown into a war which history has shown to have been unjustifiable and unnecessary. A true interpretation of Chinese interests in those days might have prevented the enforcement of the opium trade upon a defenceless China. The Church may have felt at the time that it would be unwise to interfere in politics, but there are occasions when great moral issues demand a courageous witness, and to give this is not an intrusion into the world of politics, but a protest by the Church against a great wrong. From the beginning of the nineteenth century missionaries have sought to make this their policy, and have fought in turn against slavery, opium, and the white-slave traffic, against drug, liquor, labour evils, and the exploitation of native races. In all this they have sought to be genuine interpreters to the people of Europe of the interests of those among whom they have worked.

Another example of this interpretation as between races is to be found in New Zealand, where after missionaries had by their evangelistic work made it possible for white people to settle, there arose the inevitable clash

of interests between the settlers and the Maoris, which for a time created a situation fraught with grave danger. But it was a C.M.S. missionary who acted as interpreter between Maori and British, and the result is seen to-day in an inter-racial unity in New Zealand which seems to have few, if any, parallels in the world.

To return to the course of events in China. The treaties after the China wars were designed to fulfil two aims: first, to secure trade facilities for British subjects, and secondly, to protect missionaries, to open the interior to them, and to secure for their Missions the right of extra-territoriality. Thus missionary advance was made possible at the cost of a great wrong to China, for the treaty that gave facilities for missionary work also opened the way to a much more widespread traffic in opium. Nearly a hundred years later an International Missionary Conference was held in Jerusalem (1928), and one of the burning issues brought to it by the Chinese delegates was this same question, and it was found that no missionary wanted any privilege which had been secured to him by wars or treaties. They had come to see that if Missions were to take root in China they must no longer depend upon any form of State support and protection or upon treaty rights. They must be beyond any kind of criticism if they were rightly to interpret China to the rest of the world. Thus we watch the slow growth in the quickening of the conscience of our nation on these great international issues, and with it too the quickening of the conscience of the Church on social evils.

In all this work for China the C.M.S. has played a not unworthy part, though it is small in comparison with that of the wide-spread organization of the China Inland Mission and some of the American missionary societies.

Before the C.M.S. was two years old, in fact in its very first Report published in May, 1801, we read of the opening of a special fund for a "faithful and elegant" translation of the Scriptures into Chinese. From that day to this the burden of China has been ever upon the conscience of members of the Society. It was in 1844, shortly after the first treaty ports were opened, that the C.M.S. began its work in the country. As opportunities for expansion presented themselves the work spread until the Society was established in five great areas, now formed into dioceses for the creation of which the C.M.S. is largely responsible, dioceses which in turn are linked to other Anglican dioceses in the ecclesiastical province now set up with its own self-governing Synod.

These facts, so baldly enumerated, do not convey any idea of the cost in life to the C.M.S., for China has always been a land that has demanded of its missionaries great sacrifice. The list of men and women who have died, some as martyrs, others of sickness, in this stupendous task of bringing the Gospel to China is a very long one. Missionaries have learnt to live dangerously for the sake of the Gospel, but the sacrifice demanded has never deterred men from offering for service in China. One example may be given. In 1895 when a group of missionaries were spending a holiday in the hills of Fukien, disaster broke upon them: a local rising caught many workers unawares, and Robert Stewart and his wife and a number of women missionaries were killed. The Committee in Salisbury Square in the face of this great tragedy recorded in a resolution "their unfaltering belief that no disaster however great should be allowed to interfere with the prosecution of that purpose for which the Society exists." And the striking fact is that of

Robert Stewart's six surviving children, all have given service as missionaries in China.

All down these decades dangers have faced the intrepid ambassadors of the Gospel, but unafraid they have penetrated into the interior, enduring hardship and even facing death for Christ. Civil war and banditry, famine and flood, have devastated whole areas of China, but through every vicissitude the missionary has held on with unflinching devotion to his great task. Nothing exposed the exploitation of China by Western Powers more than the unselfish lives of missionaries who, asking no reward for themselves, have helped to rouse the conscience of England on the subject of social wrongs. This is true of other countries no less than of England; and, so effectively have the missionaries fulfilled their role of interpreters, that this country thinks to-day of lands such as China in very different terms from those of fifty years ago.

But more remarkable still has been the founding of this indigenous Church, which in more recent years has had an influence out of all proportion to its numerical strength. Christianity has taken root in China and is becoming a part of Chinese religious and social life. To achieve this, Missions had to grow out of themselves and into the Church until the foreign Mission became an arm of the Church, controlled and guided by the Chinese themselves.

The treaties of 1858 and the conventions of 1860 to which a reference will be made later, led to a great expansion of Missions. China had guaranteed the toleration of Christian work and the protection of the missionaries, but a danger appeared through the increasing facilities for the preaching of the Gospel. By

the treaties every Chinese convert was virtually brought under the protection of a foreign power, and the young Church was therefore stamped as foreign, its property was extra-territorially protected, and its leaders were regarded as the emissaries of a foreign power. Thus again after the lapse of centuries, and after all the lessons of history, another Christian Church was in the making, but foreign as before, and with many of the disabilities that brought disaster in an earlier age. From the last quarter of the nineteenth century onwards many missionaries resolutely set themselves to face the situation and to take steps to make the Church in China indigenous, to give it Chinese leadership, and to train it to take its place as part of the great Catholic and historic Church throughout the world.

Many questions have arisen as the years have passed, to which only time could supply the answers. First and foremost, an explanation had to be found of what was meant by an indigenous Church, for many interpretations can be given. Most missionaries understand by an indigenous Church a centre of spiritual life, worship, and fellowship where each worshipper has a sense of corporate life in a community which is truly his own, where he finds his spiritual home and for which he has a sense of responsibility of ownership. But it is not enough for a Church to be indigenous, if by that is meant that it is merely national, for a Church in China, for instance, must recognize itself as a branch of the world-wide Catholic and Apostolic Church. A young Church must have its roots in historical Christianity.

Having said this, let us remember that the Church in China has been for over a hundred years, and still is in a measure, dependent for financial support upon the

missionary societies of the West. There is an economic problem to be faced, for as long as the Church depends upon the resources of another country it cannot be fully indigenous. Missionary societies have placed their work largely in Chinese hands and have handed over the administration of funds to boards and committees, the majority of whose members are Chinese, and in this way foreign money is controlled by local authorities. But even so the question remains how far it is right for Chinese pastors to be maintained from foreign grants. In some Missions a diminishing scale has been adopted by which the foreign grants are being reduced annually by an agreed percentage. This raises of course the question of the ministry. We have imported into China not only our church order of bishops, priests, and deacons, but our European standards of education for ordination. The alternative set before village Christian communities has frequently been a well-educated clergyman or a semi-educated lay pastor. By the adoption of the latter method village districts have been deprived of the ministry of the sacraments.

A further question which arises in regard to the interpretation of the word "indigenous" is connected with the relationship of the missionary to the Chinese Church. The day has gone when he was the supervisor of his servant, the Chinese worker, and the day of foreign control has gone too, yet the Chinese Church asks for and receives missionaries. What is to be their position? It does not appear to be desirable that foreign missionaries should continue to be recruited indefinitely to work as curates to Chinese clergy, willing and anxious as they may be to work under Chinese leadership. The adjustment necessary requires very careful thought. Some

Missions, in order to safeguard the position of the foreign missionaries, have set up parallel organizations, by which the foreign workers are controlled by their mission boards and the church officials by the church council. But such a racial plan cannot be contemplated as more than a temporary expedient. For the upbuilding of the Church there can be ultimately only one organization, only one authority—the Church, in which Chinese and foreigners will find their places as fellow-members and will serve together on the basis of complete equality. The Madras Conference stressed this point when it said:—

As the younger Churches develop they should be invited to share responsibility for the assignment and direction of missionaries in their service. Relations between the Mission on the field and the younger Churches may require adjustments to make this possible. It is also essential that the younger Churches should assume a larger measure of responsibility for assisting the missionary to become the best possible servant of Christ in their Churches. The younger Churches should exercise care and wisdom in assigning to each missionary the work that will allow him to make his largest contribution to the Church. Unless the younger Churches treat missionaries as they wish missionaries to treat them, recruits may not be forthcoming.¹

Further questions arise in the relationships of the mission institutions to the Church; for example, the place of school and college in the Christian community and the matter of their control, and the corresponding issues in regard to hospitals. The time was when the

¹ *The World Mission of the Church*, pp. 100, 101.

heads of all such institutions were foreigners simply because there were no Chinese qualified to take their place. But this situation could only be regarded as temporary, and missionaries began to plan for the kind of education that would equip Chinese to become fully-qualified and efficient members of the staff of educational institutions and hospitals. Long years before China awoke to a sense of her powers and rights the missionaries were working and planning for the day when an awakened China would find spiritual leadership prepared and trained for every high office in the Church and in all its multiform activities.

One result of the missionary methods of the past century in China is a healthy cultivation of national characteristics. "Only when Christianity has been so planted in the foreign soil of heathen nations that it becomes naturalized there as a domestic growth, can a really independent native Christian Church be brought into being. This naturalization requires a shaping of the whole process of Christianization to the people. A Christianization of the language of the people, of the customs of the people, of the social ties of the people, a task which sets before missions a number of most complicated problems."¹

III

We have seen the Chinese Church grow from nothing in 1807 when Morrison landed in China to over 600,000 to-day—or if the Roman Catholics are included, three and a half millions. For a long time the Church tended to lean entirely upon the missionary for initiative, leadership, and financial support. Few Chinese were able to

¹ *The Younger and the Older Churches*. Jerusalem Report, vol. iii, p. 33.

produce Christian literature, and evangelism was largely due to the zeal of an alien people. But gradually the message made itself felt. Christian family life often stood out in sharp contrast to the non-Christian type by which it was surrounded. Women found a larger freedom in Christianity, and education began to have a marked effect upon the life of the people. Christians challenged social evils, and demanded of all church members a moral standard which was new in China. When China embarked upon the new learning it was largely to the missionaries that the country looked for the production or translation of text-books. It was the missionary who first advocated the use of the vernacular in written form as the first step towards national literacy. On the social side one triumph of Christianity was the new value it gave to personality. It bred a new regard for the individual, through the care of the sick and suffering, the rescue work among outcast girl babies, the help given to the poor, the blind, the lame, and the sick. Missionaries were followers of Him Who had come to seek and to save that which was lost, and humbly they followed in His steps. In a China that was awakening, the Christian Church implanted new moral and spiritual forces that have served the nation more than can be estimated. Thus through labour and toil, through pain and defeat, through sorrow and persecution, through martyrdom and triumph this little Church held on its way, always praying, preparing, and working for a new day.

While this missionary work was being developed, strange stirrings were rousing the Chinese nation. Over a long period, this far-eastern people had tried to govern their country more by reason and wisdom than by force. Because other countries were differently based,

the Chinese sought to live within their vast territories a self-contained life, thus closing their frontiers as far as possible to the outsider. The situation dramatically altered when there appeared at their ports a western people, expanding from Europe to the Far East, and before the Chinese had time to adjust themselves to their new position, war had broken out between China and Great Britain. The treaties of 1842, 1858, and 1860 not only opened the door of China to trade but also opened the eyes of the Chinese to the peril of their position. The Tai'ping Rebellion which had begun in 1850 was really the first national movement in China of modern times. Its programme was based on a form of communism. Private property was forbidden and every one had to work for the State. Equality of the sexes was part of the plan, and another interesting feature was the use of the vernacular for public documents. The whole movement failed, largely because it challenged Confucianism.

A series of events during the past century have resulted in the complete awakening of China, and it is necessary for us to trace certain political events if we are to appreciate some of the resultant issues. Western civilization challenged China's way of life, its domestic slavery, the foot binding of girls, its home system where often three generations lived together, the method of choosing brides, ancestor worship, filial piety, and family ethics. The youth of China accepted this challenge from the West, but proceeded to make it its own by allying itself to all that the West stood for. Young men started out with a new base for their national life. A new China was born in the midst of banditry, civil war, famine, and flood. But in the chaos accompanying the break-up of the old regime the country was rent asunder by

conflicting armies, and every leader fought for his own hand.

The new Republic was established in 1911 under the presidency of Yuan Shih-kai, but suspicion and fears speedily arose until the South broke away from the North in 1921 and set up Sun Yat-sen as President of the Nationalist Government of Canton. This movement fired the youth of China and stirred them to action. They fostered a hatred of the imperialistic powers of the West; denounced the unequal treaties; and inveighed against the wickedness of extra-territoriality. In the meantime the two Chinese Governments continued to function independently, the one with its capital in Peking and the other at Canton. Sun Yat-sen sought for military aid to prosecute his campaign, but the European powers all refused as they were tied by treaties to China of which the Government *de jure* was at Peking. This threw Sun Yat-sen into the arms of the communists, for the Russians were the only people who came to his aid.

Russian advisers were introduced into China and a new army was equipped and trained with Russian help. In 1925 a second revolution broke out, and an army started from Canton to march northwards. In 1927 Nanking was reached and a new capital established there. By this time China was involved in a gigantic struggle within herself. She was tied and fettered by communist Russia from whom she was now seeking to free herself; she had embarked upon an anti-imperialistic campaign; and most unfortunate of all she was in constant conflict with Japan. It was in the midst of these overwhelming circumstances that there arose a young man, Chiang Kai-shek, first as the head of the Canton

army and subsequently as President of the new government set up at Nanking. And it was in the midst of this chaos that the young Church strove not merely to hold its own but to carry out its great commission for the evangelization of China.

A year after the occupation of Nanking by the army of Chiang Kai-shek the International Missionary Conference gathered at Jerusalem, and to the Mount of Olives came the representatives of fifty-two countries to discuss the missionary situation in the modern world, and the message of the Gospel as the answer to the needs of every land. There was a contingent of eighteen Chinese Christians. They had come from a Church literally in the furnace.

The Church was shaken through its many connexions with western countries and through its dependence upon Europe and America for financial support. It had reached a stage not unlike in many ways that recorded on a previous page which obtained at the time of the break-up of the T'ang dynasty, when an earlier Christian Church in China had disappeared. For it was caught in the whirlwind of a strong and at times unreasoning patriotism, and the Church at such a crisis had to prove that it was not the agency of an imperialistic power but was in fact a National Church. It was fighting for its life, struggling to prove its loyalty to the nation and people, and at the same time to maintain its fellowship with Christians in other lands. The delegates who arrived in Jerusalem on a windy day in March, 1928, were solemn-looking men. They appeared to carry the burdens of the world on their shoulders, and the sorrows of the ages in their faces. Their people were suffering and they had come questioning and seeking: What had this gathering

of Christians from all parts of the world to say to China in the hour of her agony?

As the days of the conference passed the vision came not only to the Chinese, but to all the delegates, of the meaning of the Gospel for such a time as this. One thing stood out in stark reality before all. To attach a Christian ethic to political propaganda was not the Gospel and would not accomplish what was needed. Various alternatives to the Christian faith had been mentioned by some of the delegates, and the problem had been approached from many angles when one day Dr. Robert Speer rose to speak. He is thus reported in the proceedings of the conference:—

They were confronted to-day with the primary question: Is there a Christian message which is distinctive? The problem was as to the validity, sufficiency, and authority of that Christian message. Was there any right or obligation to communicate this message to all the world? Among the Churches there was a deep anxiety lest out of this Council there should come any weakening of the faith in such a right or obligation. They must make it clear that there was no wavering or uncertainty about the matter. They must make it clear that they had an unshakeable conviction that they had in Christ a sufficient, absolute, and final Saviour of mankind, a religion with unique values, with the divine idea of God and the world and with an absolute, unique and irreplaceable Personality in Christ.¹

Gradually the conception of a spiritual life to be lived in a material world, of a Saviour Who actually does

¹ *The Christian Message*. Jerusalem Report, vol. i, p. 343.

redeem from sin and self, and of a mission to proclaim Him to all the world arose before the delegates, and once more Christ was enthroned among those who sought His help, and in that spirit the conference faced the question how the Church could advance. The difficulties in China seemed to point to some kind of trench warfare, when the Church would mark time and pray for more peaceful days in which to disseminate the faith. But such a plan was obviously impossible, for the Church in China was called of God for just such a day as this. At the close of the conference Dr. Speer spoke of the grain of wheat which falls into the ground and bears fruit. He referred to events in Nanking the previous year, to the martyrdom of a missionary, the victim of a great tragedy, and to the way in which a band of young men in Nanking had found Christ through the sacrifice of this missionary. It was Easter Day and the message of the Resurrection was in the mind of every one. The task was something beyond political issues, above all national considerations. It could not be accomplished by a religious nationalism. It demanded insistently that men must be brought to God through Christ, brought into a new relationship to Him, and that this evangel should be made known in the fellowship of Christ's Church. The conference ended and the Chinese delegates started on their long journey home. As they travelled they met day by day for prayer, and as they waited before God they knew that their task was to interpret the vision of the Mount of Olives to their own people, but they could not see how it was to be done. As they prayed the light came. If they desired revival to come to China it must begin in themselves. They could only interpret what they had received, and so they prayed together: "O Lord, revive Thy

Church, beginning in me." From that hour revival began.

Dr. Cheng, writing about his experience at Jerusalem, said: "When the Church is in the trenches, merely defending itself, it is in a very unhealthy and unwholesome position. Religion is enthusiasm for a Person. When that enthusiasm is gone, religion becomes nothing but cold intellectuality. The regaining of that spiritual glow and warmth is surely one of the most urgent problems in the Church in China to-day." And another Chinese, speaking of the experience of the Jerusalem Conference and the message it had brought to China, said that a new day had dawned on the Chinese Church.

Let us keep the picture clearly before us. This little Church in China was a tiny fraction of an immense population. Many in the country were openly hostile to the Christian faith, others were avowedly communists and therefore anti-Christian. All were absorbed in the issues of war and strife, by their grievances and inequalities. The nation was gripped by its superhuman task of setting its house in order, and into this situation there comes a little group of delegates from a missionary conference who dare to talk about revival, evangelism, and the expansion of the Church! "O Lord, revive Thy Church, beginning in me."

Such was the message carried to Canton, and subsequently endorsed by the National Christian Council, a prayer which became the watchword of the five years' campaign. The Church found its answer and its message in the evangel of Jesus Christ. Its method was to go out actively to win China for Christ, and in that decision the Church not only saved itself, but set before China a new hope. The factors operating in the remaking

of the Church in China were many, and perhaps this call to a new evangelism was one that most captured the imagination of people. It may be observed in passing that the conference at Jerusalem was international and inter-denominational. Many branches of the Universal Church were represented in a great co-operative endeavour. When the call came to China to advance, it was a call to a united advance in which many Churches and Missions could combine in a common effort.

We have considered the earlier efforts by Nestorians and Roman Catholics to convert China to the Christian faith, and have traced the difficulties which led to their ultimate failure. Here again in 1929 was the beginning of a heroic effort to save the Church and win the nation, and we note at once this important difference from the previous efforts. This time it was the Chinese Church which took the lead and Chinese Christians who organized the campaign, and it was the Chinese members of different branches of the Church who joined in a common enterprise. The earlier movements had planned to win to the faith emperors, courts and courtiers, statesmen and other leaders, that through them the nation might be won. It was a scheme to make Christianity the State religion, and then with the aid of the State to convert the people. This time no such policy, even if desirable, was possible because of the new national movement. The Church in China was democratic and its witness was by the whole body of lay folk, a witness by the people to the people. Christians neither sought nor asked for any favours. They had faith in their message. If it were true, people would recognize its validity and accept it.

In the efforts of the Government to unite China help

was sought from Russia with disastrous consequences at the time, for Christianity had to face the opposing forces of communism, materialism, and secularism. In 1929 the Director of Education for China issued a regulation which read:—

A private school founded by a religious body is not permitted to give religion as a required subject, nor is religious propaganda permitted in the class instruction. If there are any religious exercises, students shall not be compelled or induced to participate.

But this was not all. No religious instruction was allowed in any primary school, that is, for the first nine years of a child's school life, and religious books and magazines in schools were forbidden. This rule applied to all religions equally and was not directed against Christianity alone, indeed the old religion of China with its temples and pagodas suffered most of all. The material forces seemed overwhelmingly strong and the Church so small and insignificant, so lost in the crowd that people wondered how it could live through the storm. After a short time it was apparent that though the Church had shed many nominal members, it was stronger and more united, and its spirituality deeper than before, and what was more striking, it was more effective in its endeavours. The number of Christian men who rose to positions of national responsibility was remarkable, for most of the leaders of young China were men who had been educated in Christian schools or colleges. The solid work of a century was beginning to tell.

The fact that religious teaching in colleges was now voluntary did not harm the work, and the ban on

religious teaching in primary schools did but lead to a more widespread and more thorough Sunday-school system. Obstacles are made to be overcome and not to hold up progress.

It was reported in 1930 that of the twenty-two provinces of China eight were being ravaged by civil war, eleven were independent of Nanking, and the whole territory from Kwangtung and West Kwangsi, through Fukien and Hunan up to Hankow and beyond was in a state of complete lawlessness. In the five years from 1924 to 1929 no less than thirty-three missionaries lost their lives by violence in China, and ninety-eight had been captured by bandits. Terrible as this was the Chinese Christians had suffered still more. Entire Christian communities had been wiped out, church buildings reduced to ashes, and congregations killed or scattered.

By the year 1930 the situation was better, but it was nevertheless a battered and bruised Church that faced the five years' enterprise to win China for Christ. This began in personal witness. It was a teaching mission from the first, to bring the message home by careful preparation, intensive teaching, and daily instruction. The Church had first to be roused, that through it might come the witness to China. What must be reiterated here is the fact that the movement was Chinese through and through. It was the Chinese Church discovering itself in spontaneous and inspiring action. Chiang Kai-shek once said of his country in its terrible ordeal of war that "suffering is achievement," and this has proved to be abundantly true of the Church. Its roll of martyrs mounted up between 1920 and 1926. It faced the storm and came through victoriously, still the living

Church, still the body of Christ for the redemption of China.

This achievement was made possible first because of the care and unselfish forethought of missionaries who, seeing what would happen when China awoke, began to prepare for the day of crisis. When the Chinese Government decreed that religion was to be banned from all primary schools the Church was ready, having been called into being at an earlier period, to undertake the religious teaching of the children. When the order went forth from the Government that the heads of all institutions, educational and medical, must be Chinese, it was again due to missionary forethought and planning that there were at hand and equipped for the posts a body of Chinese men and women to assume the headships of colleges and schools.

In the autumn of 1938, in spite of the ravages of war, over 6000 students were in Christian colleges and universities. This showed an increase of two thousand on the previous year and in fact only a thousand less than the record for the years prior to the war. The Government of China have released students from military service on the ground that they will be required later on as the leaders of their nation in the great work of reconstruction. But to maintain the college life of the country under war conditions of constant bombing and alarm has been a costly achievement, and both staff and students have faced danger and hardship with remarkable tenacity. It is a wonderful record that at such a time all the universities and colleges are still in being although many of them have had to leave their buildings and carry on their work elsewhere. Many institutions have had to move to other parts of China. The

determination to prepare for the future is well expressed by one Chinese who said: "When our minds and hearts are so full of sounds of conflict it is a real source of encouragement to know that thousands of men and women are occupying our Christian universities and are preparing for the days of reconstruction that lie ahead."

In the case of hospitals the transfer of the superintendence from foreign to Chinese control was not pressed as there was not an adequate supply of doctors in the country, but some medical missions were placed under the control of Chinese doctors, and English sisters worked happily under their direction. What was more remarkable still was the complete selflessness of many senior missionaries, some of whom for years had laboured to create and build up large educational institutions. When the time came they gladly handed over their work to Chinese whom they had trained, and equally gladly did they agree to work under the orders of Chinese who owed their very education to the missionaries they were supplanting.

We believe that the Chinese Church will survive and will ultimately gain a great position in the country in distinction from those Churches which at an earlier date collapsed. This result will be due in no small measure to those missionaries who stepped aside from what they had regarded as their life work in order to make the Chinese head of their own Church, who risked their lives in the evangelization of China, who denounced the actions of their own people in unfair treaties, who refused to profit by their rights as foreign subjects in the extra-territoriality agreement, who refused to take refuge in time of trouble behind the guns of foreign war-ships, and who stuck to their posts unflinchingly

rather than desert their Chinese colleagues. It was out of conditions such as these that there grew up a genuine partnership between Chinese and British, Americans, and others. China has awakened and the Church too has awakened to a changing world order, but the missionary had been awake all the time, watching and praying that the Church in its infancy might grow strong and robust. To the missionary is due in no small measure the transfer of authority from Mission to Church, from foreigner to Chinese, from a home base in London or New York to a home base in China itself from which in 1928-9 there had gone forth the stirring call to advance, the call that began in the prayer: "O Lord, revive Thy Church, beginning in me."

Thirteen dioceses in China are the outcome of the witness of the Anglican Churches in Great Britain, Canada, and the U.S.A. The first conference of bishops was held in 1897 when five bishops met in Shanghai to review from the point of view of the Church as a whole the task which had been begun by missionary societies. From this time onwards conferences were held periodically until in 1912 a provincial system was adopted and a constitution drawn up under which a Synod of all China should meet every three years. Thus the centre of gravity in the control of affairs in the Chinese Church shifted from the Missions to the Churches and from Lambeth to China. It is being slowly transferred too from foreign to Chinese bishops, of whom six have already been consecrated. Within such a framework the Anglican Church has sought to make its work and Mission indigenus and to centre it in the Church. It was, therefore, to this and other Churches that the call came for advance; not merely were groups of Christians

summoned to help, but the Churches called into being by the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Free Church missionary societies. It was a call to them to achieve spiritual unity in the face of a great danger and for the performance of a supremely important task. What was known as the Five Years' Movement initiated much of the activity that followed, but as the demand for a new evangelism was heard the response came in a multitude of ways and methods, through rural Bible schools for farmers, through new Sunday-school methods, through a new spirit of worship, and a new standard of consecration among church members. Many openings were readily found among students, and at once it was realized that here the Church faced an unparalleled opportunity, for thousands of these young people wished to know whether the answer to China's need lay in Jesus Christ.

At the time of writing Japan has invaded China and the two countries are in deadly conflict, but above the din of battle there still rises the voice of the Church: "Suffering is achievement," and the Church with the nation has entered the furnace. With its slender resources it is providing for thousands of homeless refugees, engaging in Red Cross service and rescue work, helping in the conduct of large hospitals for sick and suffering. It shares in the sorrow and agony of its country for it is now the Church of China, and though still divided into numerous branches it is an indigenous Church and an integral part of the life of China.

Once more this little Church faces a great challenge. It has in turn had to meet Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, communism, and materialism. But to-day it stands before a more menacing challenge than any of

these. The Japanese are not only seeking to impose their authority and trade upon China, but to introduce a culture which is pagan and bound up with pagan worship.

When Manchuria was occupied by the Japanese, Christian leaders in Mukden were arrested and charged with being communists, and under torture they were asked to say whether the Emperor or Christ was supreme. When they confessed that Christ was Lord they were thrown into prison and received such treatment that some died and all suffered, and for what? For nothing less than the confession, originally made by St. Paul and the early martyrs, that Jesus Christ is Lord. Similar difficulties have arisen in Korea, and it is more than likely that wherever Japanese control extends in China a like demand will be made for Emperor-worship as the symbol of a loyalty which places the State above religion, conscience, and personality. The Church is in the furnace, but it is also in action, and it goes forward with the prayer: "O Lord, revive Thy Church, beginning in me."

What this means in terms of China to-day can be realized from the way the Church is facing the present Japanese invasion of the country. The record of heroism and service by the Christian community has yet to be written, but evidence accumulates to show how the moral leadership of China to-day is in the hands of Christians. Revival there certainly is and the prayer is being answered, but it is revival not of the emotional, evangelistic meeting type. It is rather a revival which makes every Christian seek to share the sorrows and burdens of his brother men. China is perhaps the most hopeful field in the world for direct evangelism, and it

is because witness is coming through the lives of Chinese and other Christians. A city is bombed. The people hurry for safety. Death and disaster follow swiftly as the bombs fall. Within a few minutes of the air raid organized groups of Chinese and missionaries are on the spot helping the wounded.

To take another illustration. The oncoming Japanese army causes panic to thousands and refugees pour into cities further in the interior. They are destitute and homeless. Here again the Church is in action organizing relief work and helping the starving people. And through it all the Church does not forget its spiritual functions. Air raids have taken place while worship has been going on, and the services have been continued uninterruptedly with a calm and confidence that have drawn all together in new bonds of understanding. We close this chapter on a note of triumph. Difficulties there will be in the coming days, but if the Church faces them in the same spirit as it is meeting the needs of this hour it will lead not only China but the whole of the East in a new way of life and in a witness which cannot be equalled by any nation. How deep therefore and how searching is the prayer: "O Lord, revive Thy Church, beginning in me."

CHAPTER V

WHY MISSIONARY SOCIETIES TO-DAY?

SYNOPSIS

Nineteenth century missionary work unique in the history of the Church. Growth of the enterprise through societies. Control democratic and voluntary. Churches established from small beginnings by intrepid missionaries sent out by societies. Financial support always forthcoming on a voluntary basis. For many years income kept pace with commitments. Churches reflected the spirit of the age in which they were born. New methods of administration and control.

Should Anglican Missions make a fundamental change in policy? The Church its own missionary society. Such a policy possible in Churches where the society is co-terminous with the Church. "Society loyalty." The "society" principle accepted by the Church Assembly in the constitution and function of the Missionary Council. Societies divided into two categories. Possible reform along the line of society federation. Societies must ever be alive to changes and ready to adapt themselves to new conditions.

CHAPTER V

BEFORE WE PASS on to the conclusion of this section of the book and consider the emergence of the Church in all these lands we have been studying, it is necessary for us to pause and to gather up some of the threads in the pattern that is being woven for us in present-day Christianity.

Many features of nineteenth century missionary work are unique in church history. In the first place, this movement for the evangelization of the world is the first serious attempt by non-Roman Missions since the Reformation to make Christianity world-wide. It took the long period from Luther to Wesley to prepare the Churches for their world mission. Theological controversies between Calvinists and others, ecclesiastical cleavages between the State Church and the Free Churches, and other preoccupations kept the minds of men engrossed with lesser things. Religious intolerance and persecution had weakened the Churches. Then, as we have seen, the revival began under Wesley with dramatic suddenness.

The growth of Missions through the agency of societies is one of the most distinctive features of this period. Another is the steady and continued support of Missions on a voluntary basis by people who had never visited foreign lands, and still another is the growth of a committee system in missionary societies which has insured the control of Missions by a supporting constituency. In a word, independent missionary societies, lay witness, democratic control, voluntary support, are all of them

striking characteristics of the nineteenth century movement. Another feature which calls for comment is the part played by women in this enterprise. Never before had women taken so large and responsible a share in missionary effort. Now we see them pioneering in Africa, walking on foot the 700 miles from the east coast to Uganda, and carrying their lives in their hands in their intrepid service for the Kingdom of God. They laboured among the women of the zenanas of India and fought many social evils in eastern lands, where they were the first to found schools for girls on modern lines. They entered sympathetically into the sufferings of their sisters in these countries, carrying to them medical skill, healing, and care, and they too blazed the trail for women's emancipation. They have faced danger, disease, and death in some of the worst climates in the world, and it is true to say that at no period in history has the Church, through its women members, rendered so conspicuous and outstanding a service for the women of the world.

Down the nineteenth century we see these intrepid bands of missionaries, men and women, setting out year after year in a spirit of complete abandon, risking everything for the sake of the Gospel. They counted not their lives dear to themselves, but in faith they stepped out fearlessly into the unknown. They penetrated into the heart of China and lived to see the placard threatening the Christians in Japan with death torn down and discarded. They traversed forest and jungle in Africa as heralds of good news to warring tribes. They proclaimed liberty to the captives of India in outcaste villages, and they changed the attitude of millions of non-Christian people towards Christianity. They lived among alien races, becoming Indians to the Indians and Chinese to

the Chinese. They overcame hatred, fear, and prejudice by sheer love, and became schoolmasters to whole nations. They gathered the sick and suffering around them and ministered to their physical needs. The blind, the diseased, and the lepers found in them that sympathy which is only born of contact with Christ.

The missionaries made their mistakes—of course they did—for they had to purchase their knowledge in the costly school of experience; but they won the affection and admiration of races and peoples the world over because they served by love and sought no earthly reward. They never accepted defeat but carried on year after year with dogged determination, working and praying for the day when spiritual awakening would come and God would pour out His Spirit in quickening power. Some died at their posts without a regret and with the cry of victory on their lips: "We are more than conquerors through Him Who loved us." Others came home, broken down physically. With no future before them and with a mere pittance of a pension, they at once started to work in England, to advocate the missionary cause and to rouse people to a greater sense of their responsibility for the overseas work of the Church. Their zeal was unquenchable and their love never dimmed. Others again met a martyr's death, entering joyfully into the fuller life amid the howls of those who plotted their destruction although they had given them their all in lives of love, service, and devotion.

Pearl Buck in *Fighting Angel* says of the early missionaries:—

They were born warriors and very great men for in those days religion was still a banner, under

which to fight. No weak or timid soul could sail the seas to foreign lands and defy death and danger unless he did carry religion as his banner, under which soon death would be a glorious end. To go forth, to cry out, to warn, to save others, these were frightful urgencies upon the soul already saved. There was a very madness of necessity, an agony of salvation.

Read also the words of Dr. Kraemer:—

The missionary movement began its course, led by simple faith and burning love, in an isolated world of stagnant religions and civilizations. Moreover, it is not sufficient to say that it was ignorant about this world in which it acted; it soon approached it with a host of misconceptions and wrong notions. It had a very chequered and unexpected career. It went through high hopes, deep disillusionments, and triumphant successes. At present the Church, although everywhere in greater or lesser degree a minority and grievously divided into sectional groups, is planted in all the continents and seas of the globe. For the first time in its history the Christian Church is in fact a world-wide community, a universal Church. The missionary movement has been instrumental to that purpose.¹

Perhaps the most striking and most far-reaching feature of mission policy of the last century has been that associated with finance. As Missions grew, funds in Great Britain increased. The work became a vast organization; for in addition to all the teaching and preaching and the

¹ *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, by H. Kraemer, p. 35.

itinerating, there grew up a network of schools, hospitals, orphanages, and other institutions, all of which were financed from western countries. People responded nobly to appeals for help, and with an ever-expanding work abroad there was a corresponding increase of income at home. The result has been that tens of thousands of missionaries have been sent abroad whose maintenance and work have involved the expenditure of large sums of money, and buildings have sprung up costing hundreds of thousands of pounds.

Prior to 1930, Protestant Missions of Europe and America were spending about £12,000,000 a year. Work had been initiated in eastern lands with western money and upon western scales of value. The organization set up had little or no relation in many cases to the economic conditions of the countries in which they operated, for it did not seem to occur to people at that time to ask how and when, if ever, the people of the country could assume financial responsibility for such institutions, nor that if western support should at any time diminish or fail, much of what was being organized would have to be rigorously curtailed or abandoned. In short, the plans and methods for the expansion of the Kingdom of God overseas were made largely dependent upon the economic conditions of Europe and America. This policy has exercised a far-reaching influence upon the types of Missions planted, and still more upon the young Churches which are the fruits of these missionary efforts.

We shall not completely understand the story of Missions in the past century unless we see it from this angle of a movement which in many ways reflected the thought life of the age, which was in a sense a spiritual counterpart to what proved to be a new epoch in history.

Neither shall we fully understand it unless through all the human elements, failures, and mistakes we see also a genuine movement of the Holy Spirit Who, in spite of human disabilities, made the Missions of the nineteenth century fruitful beyond the fairest dreams of their pioneers.

The new movements that had their birth a century and more ago either anticipated or reflected in some measure developments in thought that were to characterize the new century. Independence, individualism, liberty, freedom, democracy—these were the watchwords of an era just beginning, an era of exploration and discovery, of progress in scientific knowledge, of an enlarged education for all, of imperial expansion and of a revived and awakened Church.

The missionary enterprise sprang more from the rank and file of the Church than from its organized leaders. Lay people took in hand to fulfil in their own way, through their own resources, what they conceived to be the divine commission to the Church. The movement was thus from its inception both lay and democratic. Missions were planned, organized, and founded by committees of people in London. These committees in most cases bore no relationship whatever to the official administration and organization of the Church of England. Missionary societies came into being and subsequently gained the approval and blessing of the Church they represented. The C.M.S., as we have seen, was one of these. Whether the founders of the Society were right can best be judged by the work accomplished. Most people to-day who have a historic sense and fairness would agree that at the time there was no alternative course open to them.

With the passing of years and the growth of the

Missions, the founding of dioceses and the organization of Churches overseas, there have come changes in many directions. The C.M.S. has been able to develop its church character, and thus with all its democratic methods to preserve an intense loyalty to the faith and order of the Church to which it belongs. On the other hand the Church, on its official side, has recognized the essential value of the work which is being done by the C.M.S. and kindred societies, and has given its blessing and approval and, what is still more important, its recognition to these societies as the official agencies of the Church.

What, however, had been initiated in the formation of the C.M.S. and other Anglican societies was that the Church of England had virtually been thereby committed to the society method of conducting its missionary work. Other bodies such as the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches were their own missionary societies inasmuch as the society was coterminous with the Church, the one was the expression of the whole of the other. In the Church of England this was not so. The Church, not having had the vision or the initiative to undertake this task itself, unofficial organizations sprang up which ultimately became the chief and in many cases the only channels through which missionary work was conducted. We look back on a period of nearly 140 years, during which these societies have cheerfully borne the burden of this great enterprise, and for the greater part of which the Church officially has shown no inclination to change its method of working, and during which therefore the societies have become a part of the very life of the Church they represented.

The principle of a free and democratic organization for the conduct of missionary work has thus entered into

the spiritual fabric of the Church. The prayers of vast numbers of church people have been linked inseparably to that part of the work in which they were interested and for which they subscribed. This is true of all sections of the Anglican Communion. Supporters of the S.P.G. find their missionary interests and prayers directed into S.P.G. channels because their links are personal. They give to work about which they know, and which in a very real sense they help to direct and to develop. This is equally true of the U.M.C.A. and the C.M.S.

The missionary societies are to-day a part of the official organization of our Church. It may be argued that this is an anomalous position and can be but temporary, that the Church ought to be its own society, that the control of this vast missionary enterprise should be in the hands of the church officials and the whole work unified and centralized. To this missionary societies would probably in theory give a considerable measure of assent, but if they were to consult their constituencies there is no doubt that they would discover that the incentive to missionary giving in the Church is very largely due to this so-called anomalous position, and that it is because the societies have made personal links possible between the giver on the one hand and the work on the other, they have won increasing support from church people. The large majority of church people who give to missionary work give through a missionary society which they know and love, and whose work they value and follow with their prayers. It is true that these societies can only continue so long as the Church supports them. They have no resources beyond the gifts of church people. They live practically from hand to mouth, each year going forward in faith that the needed funds will be forthcoming.

The future is therefore obviously in the hands of the Church itself, that is, if by the Church we mean what the apostles meant, the Body Corporate of believers and not simply a higher command of church leaders.

The strength of the missionary work of the Church of England lies in the simple fact that a large number of ordinary church folk believe in it profoundly, deeply enough indeed to make real sacrifices for it. What was begun long years ago in very different circumstances from those of to-day, still exists and if you will, persists. What of the future?

We have seen the Missions overseas become to a great extent Missions of the Church, and develop into the Church of God in particular fields, the Body of Christ for those areas. The question we have to ask here is, should the societies in England change their organization with the changing conditions overseas? If Missions overseas are becoming part of the Church organically, should missionary societies now relinquish their democratic position of autonomous control and give their work into the hands of a central body so that the Church may become its own missionary society? This question is frequently asked and some answer must be given.

The most outstanding event in the recent history of the Church has been the founding of the Church Assembly and with it, from the point of view of the Church overseas, the formation of the Missionary Council of that body. This Council was established by act of the Assembly in 1921. It recognizes a listed number of missionary societies as its official agencies, which are on a basis of complete equality though they have varying degrees of responsibility. It is composed of elected members from the Church Assembly and representatives

of the co-operating missionary societies. By its constitution the Council is not a super-missionary society. It administers no overseas work, and it is pledged not to raise funds, but to function as a co-ordinating body, representing missionary interests as a whole, including those of the recognized societies.

This account of the Missionary Council makes it clear that after a hundred years of the modern missionary enterprise, the Church of England has itself recognized the society system as being the best means, in all the circumstances, of carrying on its own missionary work. The societies therefore, in the conduct of their task, are in complete accord with the declared policy of the Church. This fact should be carefully noted because it follows that the main function of the Missionary Council is to strengthen and support the societies, ever seeking through missionary education and other means to increase their incomes and to further the work they have undertaken on behalf of the Church.

Missionary method, in the period under review, has varied very little. The societies still maintain their separate existence and the Missionary Council draws them all into co-operation and fellowship. It is true to-day that, taking the two largest missionary societies (the S.P.G. and the C.M.S.) as an illustration, at no point in their work overseas do they overlap, compete, or clash in any way. The amity that exists makes the one complementary to the other. Both work to an agreed plan which prevents any wastage of man power or funds through duplication of activities. Where both societies are working in the same diocese the work of each is co-ordinated and unified in the Diocesan Councils and under the leadership of the Bishop.

Since more than half of the Anglican work overseas is carried on by these two societies, the point is one of considerable importance and significance. All the societies in co-operation in the Missionary Council recognize its place and position in the life of the Church to-day and that position is secure so long as the Council does not seek to become yet another society, so long as it does not administer and control work overseas. If once it did this, it would lose its distinctive character and thereby much of the support and co-operation accorded to it by the societies. The situation therefore can be summed up as follows:—

The Church has no machinery of its own by which it could be its own missionary society. It has, on the contrary and by a voluntary act of the Church Assembly, committed the task of Missions overseas to certain accredited societies. It is impossible, therefore, either for the Council to fulfil its responsibilities or for the societies to carry the burdens imposed upon them unless the co-operating bodies, the Missionary Council on the one hand and the societies on the other, are completely one in purpose, aim, and policy.

Those who use the slogan: "The Church its own missionary society," are really doing a disservice to the missionary cause, because to weaken the position of the societies at this juncture in missionary development must mean a corresponding reduction in the help the societies can give to the Church overseas. Moreover, at the present time, when the future is so uncertain, anything that reduces the effectiveness of missionary support inflicts an injury on the Church as a whole. The societies are seeking loyally to align their work to the policy of the Church and to make a maximum

contribution to the Churches in other lands which are dependent upon them. They in turn ask for the whole-hearted support of the whole Church.

An argument commonly heard and one that has to be met is that the multiplicity of missionary organizations makes this method very expensive and overhead charges in administration abnormally high. A study of the expenditure and income of the societies from this point of view is illuminating. We are constantly told that there are about a hundred missionary societies of our Church and a number of others of an interdenominational character, all making their appeals for support and all in competition one with the other. In reply it must be pointed out that the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. are responsible for work represented by fifty-four per cent of the missionary contributions of the Church, twenty-eight per cent of the income represents the combined resources of the next ten largest societies, while all the others together, numbering some seventy organizations, receive only eighteen per cent of the Church's missionary gifts. The Missionary Council classifies all these societies into two categories, in the first of which are included the larger societies, of which there are twelve; and in the second, the smaller organizations, mainly of a diocesan type, founded and maintained for the support of some particular piece of work or diocese.

The solution to the problem is not to weaken those societies which carry the greatest responsibilities for overseas work, but for clergy and missionary supporters to discriminate in their giving and to concentrate their support upon those societies with the heaviest commitments. It should be made clear to the whole Church

that actually there are only twelve missionary societies recognized by the Church of England as accredited agencies. If these twelve could draw together there is no reason why they should not become federated to the two largest societies, some, that is, to the S.P.G. and others to the C.M.S. Such federation would save a great deal of money in home administration, office expenditure, and staff, would reduce the number of appeals, and at the same time preserve the autonomous name and distinctive character of the federating bodies.

Whatever problems have to be faced, it is clear to most leaders of missionary work that the solution does not lie along the line of "the Church its own society." For instance, it is quite safe to say that the principle of voluntary service is so deeply entrenched in the Church that any attempt to raise missionary funds by means of a quota would lead to disastrous consequences, to a greatly reduced income, and the loss of much personal and prayerful interest in missionary work. The experience of the past 150 years makes it abundantly clear that the best service to the missionary cause comes as the spiritual life of the members of the Church finds expression in their own interest and prayer for the work to which they give.

Having said this, let it nevertheless be added that the societies must accept the facts of a changing situation and must so maintain their machinery that it may be both flexible and adaptable to new conditions. If the present system is to continue, the societies must so adjust their machinery that they may be able to co-operate more fruitfully one with another. By a survey of all the mission fields of the Anglican Church, it should be possible to discover where the work can be better

co-ordinated. For example, where one society specializes on women's work in a diocese, other societies should so plan their operations as to give this sphere of women's work to that society as its major responsibility to the diocese. Where another society specializes in literature, it should be the pivot round which the literature work of all societies should swing. More could be done by co-operation provided it were agreed that the unit in which activities are carried on is the diocese, and the co-ordination of them all is in the hands of the Bishop and his Diocesan Council.

This leads to the further question of the policy of missionary societies in their operations abroad. To-day, with the formation of dioceses all over the world an established fact, the Anglican Church has a simple and effective method of unity. However many organizations in England help in the support of a diocese, there can be only one policy for church people, that of genuine unity of operation in the field.

As far as the C.M.S. is concerned, Missions grew up in many areas long before dioceses were formed. In fact, twenty-nine dioceses were to a great extent the outcome of C.M.S. work. The society system existing in England can operate abroad in complete accord with the Church's order and organization. The Mission finds its place as an integral part of the diocese and the machinery of a society, set up in earlier days, becomes merged into the diocesan organization.

The society system of missionary support need not clash in any way with the Church at the home base or with the growing Church in other lands. Societies are the servants of the Church, and they have no other objective but to strengthen the whole missionary cause,

calling forth from the Church at home increasing resources for the work overseas. The societies have also meant something in enrichment to the Church at home, for they have held the Church to its primary task. They have inspired thousands of men and women to give their lives to missionary service, and they have poured into dioceses across the world millions of pounds, given at great sacrifice by church people that all the world might know the redemption that is in Christ Jesus and the love that His coming has brought to mankind.

PART II

THE ŒCUMENICAL CHURCH

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH OF GOD

SYNOPSIS

I

Modern missionary movement began experimentally. Originally the foreign missionary was the principal factor—emphasis passing from Mission to Church. C.M.S. has assisted in the building up of an international Anglican Communion. New situations arising in the form of nationalistic and anti-Christian movements; the Church of God exists to meet these situations.

II

How is the Church to bear its witness to-day? We must think no longer in terms of East and West—every part vital to life of the whole, every part a miniature of the whole. The Church not of man's building but of divine origin. Marks of the Church: (1) Allegiance to Jesus Christ, (2) a common faith, (3) an ordained ministry for sacramental service. Emphasis on the training of ordinands.

III

The Church merging its task into diocesan life, becoming indigenous. A lesson from history: Bible translation a major consideration. Indigenous leadership must be independent of foreign control—every new generation needs a new conversion. Depth of spiritual life fundamental. The Mission becomes a sending Church.

CHAPTER VI

IN OUR STUDY of Missions in the past hundred and forty years we have seen how foreign missionaries were sent forth to unknown fields, to walk untrodden paths and to initiate a work for which there was no precedent to guide them. Methods adopted in apostolic days offered only a partial guide, for life under Imperial Rome was in no way comparable, for example, to the conditions ruling in China at the opening of the last century. The fact of the Jewish dispersion was an asset to St. Paul that had no parallel for evangelists in non-Christian countries a hundred years ago. But one guiding principle seemed to run through all policy though it appeared in various forms. It was generally agreed that the aim of the missionary should be to found and to build up an indigenous Church which would take upon itself the task of evangelization, ultimately control its own affairs, and in course of time become self-supporting.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, as we have seen, the emphasis fell, almost of necessity, upon the *foreign* missionary, bringing to a people of another race a foreign religion. However much we may question the correctness of this to-day it is doubtful whether any other method was then possible. There were no indigenous Christians in those days upon whom the missionary could rely and he had to plough a lonely furrow. But as a member of the Body of Christ he knew that "Christ's presence in the Church has been perpetual from its foundation, and this presence He makes

effective and evident in the preaching of the Word, in the faithful administration of the Sacrament, in prayer offered in His name, and through the newness of life whereby He enables the faithful to bear witness to Himself."¹ This principle enunciated at Edinburgh in 1937 has been carried into practice in the Missions overseas. Although the Mission at first was foreign, the faithful who gave their witness, though few in number, were actually the Church—the Body of Christ—in the lands to which they had gone; consequently, when they were joined in their allegiance to Christ by natives of the country the emphasis shifted, as it was bound to do, from Mission to Church, from the foreigner to the national leader, from foreign to local support, from an alien religion to an indigenous faith. The C.M.S. as a missionary agency explained in 1909 its policy in relation to these young Churches which were growing up. It was "to prepare them [the Churches] to form or to be an integral part of the duly constituted branch of the Anglican Communion."²

In this way the Society visualized the future to which C.M.S. organization was to shape its course. It foresaw that as the Churches grew they could no longer be kept under the tutelage of a missionary society but must take their places in diocesan constitutions as these were formulated.

We shall see later how this has worked out. In the meantime let us pause, because in this matter of diocesanization we face one of the most critical problems in all missionary policy, and a wrong turning at this

¹ Report of the World Conference on Faith and Order, 1937, p. 231.

² See Memorandum on "Development of Church Organization in the Mission Field," published April, 1909.

stage might do untold harm to the Kingdom of God. It is sometimes urged that the C.M.S. ought to retain the control of its own work and not to diocesanize its Missions. The policy which has been adopted by the Society is indeed often criticized, but what is usually forgotten is that the C.M.S. is an Anglican society, working within the framework of the Anglican Communion, and that its policy throughout its history has been to build the Church in its own mission areas on the Anglican model. We may sometimes be tempted to regard the Churches of a mission field as developing in a free and untrammelled way on lines of their own and independent of the order of our Church. It should, however, be remembered that groups of young Christians, whether in China, India, or Africa, cannot suddenly evolve a Church of their own. They have inherited historic Christianity through the medium of one or other of the recognized branches of the Church, and they reflect the churchmanship of the people who first brought the faith to them. The C.M.S. has done more than any other missionary society to help the national Church of our own land to become a great international Communion with its Church order spread all over the world. This was well illustrated at the last Lambeth Conference when bishops assembled from China and Japan, India and Iran, Africa and Palestine, to confer with bishops of America, Great Britain, and the Dominions. Of the dioceses there represented no less than twenty-nine, as was noted in the previous chapter, owed their origin largely to the C.M.S. A small society may be content to live to itself, avoiding the strong currents and the storms, but a society with world-wide responsibilities such as those of the C.M.S. cannot do this. It

must move in the main stream of the life of the Church, and it must therefore adapt itself to the Church as it grows.

I

When the Society began its work it set its hand to something which was bound if it succeeded, to outgrow its parentage. The C.M.S. has sown the seed, won converts, and laid the foundations for the future. It has recognized the principle that while it is a foreign society, spending foreign money it cannot remain the permanent element in the Christian bodies it has been instrumental in establishing. The one stable, abiding, and permanent element in missionary policy is the Church of God which has its origin and its centre in Him. This must be stated in clear and unambiguous terms because it is New Testament policy. What would have happened if there had been in Corinth a Petrine Missionary Society and a Pauline Missionary Society? The apostle's answer to this suggestion is very clear; "Paul planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase." Christ was not divided and in the end the Christians of Corinth, Jews and Gentiles, were welded together into one Church. Missionary societies must be equally clear that in their zeal for the work they love and for the Churches overseas they do not countenance division in the Body of Christ.

The Missions founded by the Society will, with the growth of the Christian community, become Missions of the Church, having their executive authority in the Church rather than in the Society. Thus it may happen that a missionary who won the first converts and founded a Church, becomes in the end a humble member of the

very Church which owes its origin to him. The reason for all this will become apparent as we see the significance of the Church in the world to-day. For 140 years the work of the C.M.S. has been expanding, and the results in many of its Missions have been beyond all expectations. But the more successful the work, the sooner comes the time when the Church must stand upon its own feet.

The nineteenth century, as we have seen, witnessed a remarkable growth of foreign Missions. As we study that growth in the light of the facts of to-day there seems to be no doubt that the missionary enterprise of the last century was God's plan for calling out and building up in every land His Church which already existed in His eternal purpose. If we study the world situation now it seems clear that the Churches in these lands were called into being to meet the needs of our day, to be ready to respond to the world-wide challenge of secularism, to be strong enough to maintain undimmed their loyalty to Christ in the face of totalitarian demands and the worship of other gods, to be Christian enough to witness to an essential Gospel of life and power and not to be submerged by the waves of the syncretistic philosophies of the day. A new era has dawned, and we who are engaged in missionary work must face the facts of this situation in a fresh way, with open minds and clear vision, without fear and with a liberty that is unfettered by the traditions of the past. We are in fact called upon to re-think Missions.

In doing this we will review quite briefly the outstanding facts as we have discovered them. We note the following: (1) the rapid growth of the work of the nineteenth century made possible by a steadily expanding income; (2) an entirely new situation to-day where there

is still a growing work but in many cases a contracting income; (3) the rise of nationalism and its influence upon Christian communities, causing a fresh insistence upon independence of foreign control; (4) the changed world situation with its strong anti-God and anti-Christian movements, and their disastrous effects upon the Christian peoples of Russia and other countries; (5) the growing secular spirit in all parts of the world, under the influence of which millions now plan their national and private lives without any thought of God; (6) and finally the emergence at this very time of the Church of God in almost every land. This is indeed so clearly a new era, that we can only regard the past 150 years of missionary work as a preparation for this very day in which we live.

God has so planned that when the world seeks to banish Him from its life there is an instrument ready to hand which He can use to meet the challenge. That instrument is His world-wide Church. In building up this Church the C.M.S. has had an honoured share, and it has a still greater task to fulfil in the coming days in undergirding the young Churches by sharing with them the rich heritage of the Christian faith in the experience of Christendom down the centuries, and by interpreting to them what we have learnt of worship and corporate life, and of the Christian living which finds expression in so many and varied ways in our culture and civilization, as well as in the multiform social services of our land. But this will only be possible as the Society grasps the fundamental fact that the Church is the essential element. A missionary society may have to die to itself that the Church may live.

This new era, notwithstanding all its tangled and

perplexing problems, is the most hopeful in the history of Missions. It took thirty-five years to win a handful of converts in China, but to-day there are over 618,000 Protestant Christians in that country in addition to some 3,000,000 Roman Catholics, and this rapid growth is due not to the continual multiplying of missionaries but to the witness of the Church. Every convert was a potential missionary and once the Church of God began to function as a Church, growth became much more rapid. In fact, to employ a mathematical simile, direct evangelization by missionaries increases the Church by simple addition; when the Christian community in a country acts corporately, and is an effective instrument in God's hand then progress is more of the nature of geometrical progression. Bishop Lasbrey bears this out when he says that ninety per cent of the converts in the diocese of the Niger owe their faith to the witness of the African Christians.

This era is therefore most hopeful because it is most fruitful. There has never been a time in the history of the Church when converts have multiplied so rapidly and when Christianity has expanded in so remarkable a way. In saying this we exclude, of course, such mass accretions to the Church as those of early days in Russia when hundreds and thousands were baptized by order of the Emperor. Tribes in Africa, villagers of India, and students in China are all showing signs of far-reaching movements of the Spirit of God. But hopeful and fruitful as this era is in many ways, it is nevertheless one of the most critical for the Church. Christians the world over are face to face with a menace that threatens to engulf them. There is in many lands a clash of loyalties. Many are tempted to compromise, and heresies readily spring

up, but these dangers only serve to emphasize the fact that the Church is at war. "The fact remains," as Principal Whale puts it, "that Christ in His Church is bidding for the heart of the world, and that in this twentieth century as in the second, the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church."¹

We reach this conclusion that now, thanks to the work of Christian Missions, Christianity is a world-wide fact. In country after country the Christian Church has sprung up as a permanent and indigenous entity, the essential feature of the entire missionary enterprise. Without the Church missionary work must eventually and inevitably crumble and decay; with it Missions will go from strength to strength as they rediscover their purpose within the native Churches. Missions that do not aim at devolution in this sense are obviously limited in their scope by the economic conditions of the country that supports them. Missions that lose themselves (or, shall we say, find themselves?) in the fellowship of the younger Churches will discover, through this partnership, expanding resources in man-power to cope with a growing work. The voluntary services of native lay people in the mission fields have scarcely been used in some areas, but they represent a source of power which has to be harnessed to the task before the Church.

II

How then can the Church bear its witness in the world, and how is it to fulfil the purpose for which it was created? If, as we hope and believe, a new era now begins in the life of the Church Universal it may well be

¹ *What is a Living Church?* J. Whale, p. 18.

that this will prove to be the turning point in history for which the world waits. We are apt to regard the creative movements of the Church as showing themselves only in Europe and America. Our minds too are inclined to be filled with particular events in particular areas, for instance, with the break-up of the Church in Russia, the persecution of the Confessional Christians in Germany, or the Fascist policy of Italy, and it must be confessed that these do constitute a continual danger, moreover they are close at hand. But it is necessary to see movements and events in true perspective. We can no longer divide the world into East and West. Affairs in the Far East are as vital to European peace, and perhaps more so, than the recent conflict in Spain. The Churches in China and Japan are called upon to play a part to-day in the life of other nations and of the world that would have seemed fantastic even a few decades ago.

Dr. Kraemer quotes Oscar Buck as saying: "It is in Asia—not in America, or Europe or Africa—that the future of the Christian religion will be determined, is being determined." On this Dr. Kraemer comments thus:—

This pointed expression serves remarkably well to impress upon the mind the startling novelty of the world situation in which the Christian Church has to steer its course.

Then follows a paragraph which sums up so admirably what is the central thought of this chapter that it must be quoted in full:—

All the evidence compressed in the foregoing line of reasoning, drives irresistibly to the conclusion that

the Christian Church is not at the end of its missionary enterprise in the non-Christian world, but just at the beginning. The independence and autonomy of the daughter Churches in the non-Christian world does not mean a gradual withdrawal of the activities of the parent Churches. On the contrary, the fact that the Christian Church actually has become a world-wide community, the responsibility this involves and the solidarity in faith and love and hope in which the older and younger Churches have been thereby bound together, point to the obligation of renewed missionary consecration and activity.¹

These are wise words. It is the problems such as are here raised and which are affecting the daughter Churches of the East to-day so deeply that compel missionary supporters not only to judge their policy by past experience, but to read the future in the light of present day hopes and plans.

We may examine our work, and our examination may result in nothing more than improved methods and greater efficiency along old lines. On the other hand, if we are prepared to take the long view, we may in missionary societies be led to break through into new and creative channels of service through which, in co-operation with the Churches, we shall fulfil God's purposes in an entirely different way. To understand this we must look more closely into what we mean by the Church. In the nineteenth century the Church was regarded by Protestants very largely as a religious association. Dr. Visser T'Hooft describes it thus:—

¹ *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, p. 40.

The devout Christian came first. He and his fellow-believers united in free association to create a congregation, and the Church was simply the conglomeration of such congregations. The whole conception of the Church was individualistic, democratic, and atomistic. The New Testament Church was interpreted in terms of sociological and humanitarian ideas.¹

Since then a larger conception of the Church has appeared and: "it is seen that the thought of the New Testament is that the Church is built from above and not from below and has its source not in man, but in God."² This leads the author to his most important deduction:—

The One Universal Church is primary, the local society expresses the life and unity of the whole. For from the outset the Church was understood universally and each fraction of it was a "Church" in so far as it was a miniature of the whole. Thus the Church is a body of men and women in which the unity of every part corresponds to, repeats, represents, and in fact is the unity of the whole.³

We talk rather loosely about building the Church in the mission field, and it is well for us to be reminded in this way that actually we do not build it at all. It is of divine origin. It is in fact the Church, not of a missionary society, but *of God*. It is for this reason that the work of a foreign missionary is so sacred and so serious. He, like St. Paul, learns that the Churches he has seen

¹ *The Church and its Function in Society*, p. 23.

² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

come into being and grow towards maturity are composed of "fellow-citizens with the saints . . . and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone, in whom all the building fitly framed together groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord," and the apostle adds: "In whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit" (*Eph.* ii. 19-22). Obviously it is not St. Paul who is building, but the Holy Spirit is creating an organism which can be "an habitation of God." Here then we touch the heart of the matter. Our western flair for organization has often led us astray, and we have by our very efficiency spoilt the work of the Spirit because we have laid unconsecrated hands upon the ark of God. We are dealing not with the machinery of church councils and committees but with a new divine creation, and it is our privilege to have a share in the fellowship and service through which the Spirit can build the Body of Christ.

This means first of all that we dare not aim merely at numerical results. Numbers are not primarily important. If the unity of each branch of the Church has to reflect the life of the whole, so it is also necessary that the life of the Church Universal should reflect the character of its Head. When we visit a mission area in any of the main centres of the C.M.S. work with this conception of the Church in our minds, we shall naturally ask: What are the elements in these native Churches which must be visible as characteristic of the Church as a whole, and by which they can be recognized as *the* Church?

No single answer can be given to this question. First, we must say that all branches of the Church are united in a common allegiance to Jesus Christ as Saviour and

Lord. He is the Head of the Body and His authority is final.

Christ is not only an example of the good life; even His sublime teaching does not exhaust His cosmic significance; His human life is the activity of God in time, triumphing over the powers inimical to man, including man's last enemy, death, and bringing the new age, the life of the eternal world, into this corrupt and broken world of time. Without this belief there would be no real uniqueness in Jesus Christ and no real redemption."¹

There can be no true Church where the supernatural is eliminated and where the Christian faith is reduced to terms of mere humanism. The significance of this in the mission field is all too obvious, for the only hope of permanence in the work now going on is that it is rooted in both a personal and a corporate experience of Christ, the living Lord. That is why K. L. Schmidt says that St. Paul's ecclesiology is simply Christology and vice versa.

Secondly, each branch of the Church shares a common faith which is characteristic of the whole. The Nicene Creed, crystallized after long and deep thought in the great church conference of Nicea in A.D. 325, lies at the foundation of all international missionary co-operation to-day, and is a bond of unity among all branches of the Church which differences of race and culture have never broken and which time and distance have not weakened.

To these two facts of the one Lord and a common faith must be added the ministry and the sacraments. The provision of a native ministry adequate to the needs

¹ *What is a Living Church?* p. 38.

of a growing Church is a major problem in nearly all parts of the mission field. In some countries expansion has been so rapid that the number of ordained clergy is altogether inadequate, and the Churches which started in so promising a way tend to become dry and sterile.

This is probably due in part to a wrong method of finance in regard to the ministry and in part to the importation of western ideas and standards of what is required of ordinands. It sometimes happens that the Mission grows but the Church declines. A lack of ordained men makes it necessary for the missionary to rely for help upon lay preachers or catechists, with the result that in some districts congregations receive the sacrament of the Holy Communion only once or twice a year. When this happens pathetic appeals are made to the missionary society in Britain to do its duty and to send out more missionaries; but it is obvious that if dependence is placed entirely upon foreign missionaries the situation is not really relieved, for native congregations must have a native ministry if they are to grow. Foreign clergy can only act temporarily as pastors. If they remain permanently in control of congregations they will in the end find that the Church is no nearer becoming an indigenous Church, with a resultant loss in its witness and message.

If then our main task is to build up these Churches until they are aflame for God, we are surely courting disaster if we make the ordained ministry one of the last stages of development. It ought really to be one of the first. Nor should it be necessary to wait for a high standard of educational attainment. There is enough experience in the mission field to prove that the imposition of impossible standards for village clergy has proved

a hindrance to the growth of the Church, and that a village congregation will produce village men capable of simple training who, when prepared for a village ministry, will fulfil their calling with ability and faithfulness.

A striking illustration comes from India. In the Dornakal Diocese there is a mere handful of foreign missionaries, but there are more Christians than in any other diocese in India. Is this due to the application of a spiritual principle, or is the answer simply that it is Dornakal and therefore unique? Whatever our answer may be, the fact remains that the diocese of Dornakal has produced its own clergy, and that the Bishop has now behind him a body of over 150 Indian clergy, many of whom are of outcaste origin. For some time the educational standard required for ordination was quite simple, but it is now gradually being raised with almost every new group of ordinands. The Christian community has from the beginning been supplied with a complete ministry, and consequently we see to-day a living Church, multiplying itself by life and word.

The contrast is very striking in some other areas where there has been hesitation to ordain village men who have not attained a fairly high academic standard. In one district there were in 1934 nearly 200 congregations with three ordained clergy to minister to them! We do no service to the cause of evangelization when we neglect the building up of the Church, for it will ultimately, if rightly trained, be the greatest evangelistic force in the world, many times more effective than all the missionary agencies put together. We must therefore concentrate upon these Churches and make them our first consideration.

The C.M.S. has placed great emphasis in recent years upon the training of men for the ministry. In Japan it co-operates with other branches of the Anglican Church in one central college of higher grade and is responsible for a training college for women workers. In India the C.M.S. carries a share of responsibility for six theological training centres, and in 1938 it opened a new divinity school in North India to train village Christians for the ministry in that part of the country. In Africa there are seven theological colleges in the C.M.S. areas. In the report of a C.M.S. commission, issued in 1933, these words occur:—

Considering the rapid growth of the Churches, and particularly in India and Africa, the theological colleges become of primary importance in the Society's task of building up these young Churches. There is therefore an urgent need for a stronger support of the institutions both in increased grants and in man-power. It is not reasonable to expect the emergence of a body of native clergy, Evangelical in character and able to assume the responsibilities which the Society is willing to transfer to local authority, unless training for the Christian ministry can command more substantial support and sustained attention.¹

We visualize the task of missionary societies in the future as definite evangelism, but no longer in isolation. Societies and Churches will be called upon increasingly to face a common task and must do it together. The ministry to which men are ordained in C.M.S. mission fields is of course Anglican, and anything the

¹ *Looking Forward*, p. 30.

C.M.S. attempts to do in dioceses overseas is in co-operation with the dioceses and with the objective of merging all its activities into the diocesan plan. The C.M.S. cannot contemplate the maintenance of a separate existence for its task in the building up of the Church. It is because it is an auxiliary to the Church of England in so many parts of the world that it seeks eventually to make its activities integral parts of diocesan life. The C.M.S. believes profoundly in the New Testament conception of the Church, and apart from the Church to which it belongs it has no existence.

In studying our task to-day we cannot lose sight of the lessons of history. The countries of the Near East known as Bible lands are now Moslem lands. Millions whose ancestors in the distant past were Christians are followers of Mohammed. The ancient Church in North Africa, once so powerful, is represented by little more than the ruins of ancient cathedrals and by churches which are now used as mosques. It used to be argued that these people were made Moslems at the point of the sword, but we now know that this was not the case.

There are many causes for the collapse of Christianity in the Near East, and it may be of value if we recall the most important of them. The Eastern Church was so closely identified with the imperial power of Byzantine rule as to be a tool in the hands of the State. When the Church through missionary work spread into Transjordan and Arabia it made no appeal to the Arabs, for they feared the Emperor, and could not lose sight of the fact that the Church was being used by the State for imperial purposes of expansion. The Church could never become indigenous, tied as it was to the State. The authority and control of all church affairs was in

the hands of Greek nationals, and the "young Churches" of the day had little or no voice in ecclesiastical matters. They were bidden to accept a system which was complete, final, and orthodox. There is no evidence to show that either liturgy or Bible was ever translated into the vernacular in that part of the world during pre-Islamic days. Christians in Arabia worshipped in the Greek language, and in North Africa in Latin. The entire leadership of the Churches, both Greek and Roman, was foreign. The Christian story was expressed in a foreign way and in foreign terms.

One has only to read the Koran to see how confused Mohammed was in his understanding of the Christian teaching he received in the monasteries and from other sources. An ornate ritual, an excessive veneration of the Virgin, and an unhealthy monastic system must also be regarded as causes of failure. The Church had become a machine, and had lost its vitality and its virility as it had lost its independence. It turned in upon itself and ceased to regard evangelization as its primary duty. Generations grew up with no vital experience of Christ, no personal knowledge of Him. Nominally they were Christian because the State was Christian. It was a Church in a foreign mould. It was a national Church but in the wrong sense of the word. The result was that when the Arabs appeared on the scene with their creed of Islam thousands of Christians greeted them with delight as deliverers from a foreign yoke.

This may seem to be a digression but it really carries a very important lesson for our day; knowing the pitfalls of those early days it is for us to avoid them. The Bible is translated into every main language in lands where missionary work is going on, worship is in the language

of the people, and every effort is made to encourage the Churches to develop along their own lines. Missionaries would scorn the idea of being in any sense agents of the State, and they guard jealously their independence of action. But these things are after all only secondary. The essential need is the maintaining of the spiritual life of the Christian communities. Without this nothing can be permanent. Some of the young Churches tend to give an exaggerated emphasis to their national character, at times to the exclusion of the catholic conception of the Church. Christianity is not national, nor merely international. It is universal, supra-national. The greatest force for good the world has ever seen must not be divided into racial groupings as though each country could evolve a Christianity of its own, peculiar in type to itself. To do this would be to lose sight of the great historic faith "once delivered to the saints." There is special need just now when many forms of nationalism are so dominant to see that the young Churches understand the meaning of church history, the vision of the Church Universal, and the interdependence of all parts of the Church upon one another.

III

Let us turn from cautions and warnings to the positive side of the Church's task. The young Churches came into being, as we have seen, through the prophetic leadership of men like Carey, Duff, Martyn and others, who were, in the apostolic sense, "living epistles," and to-day the Churches in the mission fields are looking for a like prophetic leadership but from among their own people. When revival has broken out in the new Church in any

land it has resulted in calling forth new spiritual leaders, who, with spiritual insight and true vision, have heard the call of God to the Church of their day. They have seldom had behind them a wealthy organization to provide them with funds. Their work has been a venture of faith, but in the certainty born of prayer they have gone forward and have accomplished great things for God. To-day the danger is that every new project is dependent upon fresh resources in finance from some foreign country, and advance is spoken of in terms of money. Prophetic leadership in the young Churches will mean that men of vision will find ways of realizing their calling with or without foreign support. Such men have been forthcoming in many lands. Dr. Toyohiko Kagawa has created a new social consciousness in Japan on the question of slums. But this was only possible because he lived in the slums. The Japanese Government spent a million pounds in slum clearance because one man with a conscience about the matter led the way in exposing the evils and preparing for a better day.

The Rev. P. A. N. Sen, a pastor in Calcutta, saw the needs of the lepers in his city and began quietly to collect statistics. Without any help from a foreign missionary society he opened a leper dispensary, and the work grew, encouraged and helped by local support. Indian leadership in this case brought relief to tens of thousands of lepers because one man had the courage to initiate a great piece of work which was waiting to be done.

Canon Apolo did not wait for a grant from England before he crossed the Ruwenzori Mountains into the Belgian Congo. He went forward in faith to the task immediately before him, but he would never have

succeeded unless he had been prepared to endure everything in order to follow the path of duty. Undeterred by danger, violence, and suffering he served his Master and founded work which missionaries from England are proud to follow up.

James Yen, a native of Western China and the founder of what is known as "The Chinese Mass Education Movement," is another such leader. He was born into a family with traditions of scholarship and learning, and quickly proved his ability to learn. Passing from high school to college he made his way to America to complete his studies. It was while he was in the United States in 1916 that word reached him of the death of his great friend James Stewart on war service in France. He at once threw up his work and offered to help in welfare work among the Chinese coolies behind the lines. He developed the first stages of his plan for simplifying the Chinese language, and so successful was he that on his return to China he started the new movement. Groups of peasants were given an hour's study a day, and under Dr. Yen's plan they were able to learn to read within a few months. Village after village learnt to read, and thus the foundations were laid of a great effort to wipe out illiteracy. What this may mean ultimately no one can foresee, but it seems certain that within a limited period millions of peasant folk in China will learn to read, and all because one Chinese Christian dedicated his life to the service of his country.

Prophetic leadership of this kind is too rare. There are a few courageous souls in most mission areas, but the Churches in these critical days must find an army of such men who will break new ground, who will give their lives in complete abandon to the fulfilment of their vision.

Such leadership always begins in personal devotional life. It has its inception in a deep consecration to God through which a man discovers the resources of God available for him and for his work. Such devotion and consecration are at times found in individual leaders who are ahead of their times and are raised up by God to recall the Church to its task, but leadership should surely be the normal product of the corporate fellowship of the Church. If the Church is alive and growing in spiritual power such men will always be forthcoming to point the way in fresh achievements for the Kingdom of God.

Dr. J. H. Oldham rightly says:—

Unless the Church has a Word that is not from men but from God, a Word of divine redemption, a truth not of its own making to which it can point men, it is not the Church in which through the ages Christian men and women have found salvation and power to serve the world.¹

This takes us again to the heart of the matter. The Church can so easily become perverted and corrupt. While it may hold the creeds in the most orthodox manner, yet by its profession it may lose its message and cease to express the true characteristics of its Lord. The danger increases if and as the Church settles down to an insular and self-centred task. Leadership fails at this point, until it is realized that every generation of Christians in the Church needs to be converted. The Church has continually to be re-created and to find new life through obedience to every fresh challenge Christ may give.

¹ *The Church and its Function in Society*, pp. 106, 107.

We are brought back therefore to the spiritual life of the Church. We have already seen that only a full ministry of the Word and Sacraments will make this possible. But assuming that the Church is receiving a complete ministry how is it to maintain its spiritual vitality? Clearly if it continues to receive and not to give decay will set in. Worship must lead to witness, and witness means continuous and unceasing evangelism within the Church so that every church member shall be brought face to face with Jesus Christ, and with the duty of active evangelism to non-Christian people. The Church in worship is ever receiving fresh inspiration and power if its worship is sacrificial. It is called upon in every act of worship to go forth and to preach the Gospel not only in words, but in life and in deed. It is a worshipping Church that will dedicate itself to the fulfilment of God's purpose, and that will ever seek to share with others all that it has found of reality in God.

The modern age does not lend itself to the production of saints, but without them the Church of the future will be immeasurably the poorer. Sadhu Sundar Singh did more than most Christian leaders in India to recall men to a new estimate of Christian values, and it is men of this type who will keep alive the mystic elements in the Church and ever hold before it the possibilities of communion with God.

This need in India is in a measure being met by ashrams of which the Bethel Ashram in Travancore is a good example. Here the spirit of worship permeates everything. The teaching in the school and the Bible training class and the evangelistic work all emanate from a worship that is deep and corporate yet often silent. The ashram is a community of love, and because

worship is so real, action follows naturally. Such a centre of spiritual life is alive to the concrete needs of men and women, and in astonishing ways these needs are met. The secret of its success is partly due to the social basis of the ashram where the missionary and the Indian workers share their resources, and live their community life in a fellowship that knows no racial or other barriers. Those who come to the ashram for training are prepared for voluntary work and not for paid posts. There is no financial advantage to be gained in any activity of the ashram. All are learning to serve together, English and Indian, the cultured and the outcaste work side by side. Here the downtrodden, the untouchable, and the despised receive a welcome and find themselves at home.

Such is one institution, very simple and with the slenderest of resources, doing a creative piece of work that is feeding the whole Church and resulting in fresh evangelism in many directions. The essential point to note however about the ashram is that the evangelism and service which it gives to the Church so freely result from corporate worship and fellowship.

It is an axiom of our faith that a living Church must always be a missionary Church, and one question therefore which we must face is how soon a young Church can become a sending Church so that the Mission of a few years ago may become a home base for a similar enterprise.

In Africa congregations are constantly springing up unknown to the missionaries and when they are discovered the explanation is always the same: "An African Christian came to live here and taught us his faith." Such a man had no thought of any reward for his services. To him it was the most natural thing to teach

others what he had found for himself in Christ. The past hundred years have taught us many things in connexion with missionary work but none more important than that evangelistic work is more productive, better done, and carried over a wider area when it is done by the Church.

This is illustrated in the Dornakal Diocese which owes its origin to the Church in Tinnevely. A missionary society was started by a group of Indians in Tinnevely, and V. S. Azariah was their missionary to Dornakal. He and his wife lived in a tent and began to work among the outcastes in a simple way by bringing to their homes a message of divine love. Thus there grew up this young Church. The C.M.S. had been at work in Bezwada for years before, and the co-operation of Indian and British Christians led to the large movement among caste and outcaste people in what is now known as the Dornakal Diocese. Similarly the Upper Nile Diocese was the product of the witness of Baganda Christians from other parts of the Uganda Protectorate.

Two methods of work widely developed in the nineteenth century are now changing. One of these, the employment of lay evangelists or catechists as paid preachers, is discussed in other chapters. The other method is that by which native pastors became responsible for the pastoral care of settled congregations while missionaries retained in their own hands the direct evangelistic work. Such a division, if continued over a sufficient number of years, would sound the death knell of the Churches. Pastors were encouraged to develop self-support, to raise local funds, and to shepherd their flock. But faithful as they were, such a method was bound to react disastrously upon both pastors and congregations. Now it is becoming increasingly clear that every

pastor must be an evangelist. He must lead his congregation out in voluntary witness, and evangelistic work must become the task of the whole Church.

The Church, the Body of Christ, is the fellowship of believers who have been born of the Spirit and knit together not merely by ties of organization but by the one Spirit. They have become a part of a living organism. Each member is a functioning member of the Body; all worship together, they share one loyalty to Christ, and they are engaged upon a common task. This we have already discussed, but the point we now reach is where this believing, worshipping Church goes into action on a world front for the regeneration of individual lives and for the redemption of the world. This we shall see touches the whole life of individuals and communities wherever the Gospel is preached.

It is because Christ has verily redeemed us by His Cross and His precious blood that He alone can redeem our human society for us and through us, casting out the demons of pride, lust, greed, and fear, freeing us from the curse of war, destroying our hideous and filthy slums, and building Jerusalem here. Christians are in no doubt as to the hypocrisy and blasphemy of an unethical Evangelicalism. The Church that did not stand uncompromisingly for social justice and love of the brethren everywhere for whom Christ died, would be rightly held to contain hardly any religious principle worth having.¹

We shall see this task of the Church unfolding in different parts of the world and finding expression in

¹ *What is a Living Church?* p. 80.

schools and colleges, in hospitals and dispensaries. We shall witness the expansion of Christianity in our day and thus realize that in this new era the Holy Spirit is at work in the world in revival power, creating new forces to meet the challenge of our day and re-creating men and nations through the power of the Gospel.

CHAPTER VII

A WITNESSING CHURCH

SYNOPSIS

I

The Gospel preached in the early Church was of a historic faith based upon the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Christians rejected the cultus of the State—they gave regular instruction to catechumens—evangelism and worship went together—the Gospel was for the whole life of man—all methods of social service were practised—they preached a Gospel of power—witness was personal and individual.

II

Between the fifth and fifteenth century two outstanding features: (1) community movements into the Church and (2) failure of the Church to stand against encroachments of Islam. Lessons for to-day from both. Results of State connexion with Eastern Church and failure to make local churches really indigenous.

III

Influence of revivals; the Evangelical Revival—the revivals in Sierra Leone, 1816—Tinnevely, 1857—Travancore, 1875—Uganda, 1893. Emphasis on conversion still needed. Evangelism the duty of the Church and of every member of it. Task of the missionary. Attitude of Hinduism—Mr. Gandhi's position. Evangelism to-day—conception of meaning by representative Christians in various countries—examples from India—from medical missions—from educational missions—Bishop Azariah's testimony.

CHAPTER VII

IN THESE STUDIES in missionary development we have seen that the Christian message is rooted in the Incarnation, and in consequence is of world significance. From the standpoint of the revelation of God in Christ as distinct from human discovery we have drawn the conclusion that Christianity cannot be put into the same category as other religions. The missionary motive is inherent in our religion, for the Gospel is too splendid for any true Christian to acquiesce in its remaining anywhere unproclaimed.

It is with this background that we have traced out briefly the missionary enterprise in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and every part of our study illustrates the world-wide task of the Church, either in times of achievement or of opportunity. It now becomes necessary for us to gather up some of the threads of this theme and to see what we mean by evangelism.

I

Certain questions come into our minds at once: What do we understand by evangelism? What is its range? How far is the modern missionary enterprise adopting or developing the practice of the early Church? How far have the methods of the past hundred years justified themselves, and what adjustments in method or technique are now advisable? These and many other questions must occur to us, and to help us in finding the

answers let us summarize the methods of evangelism of the early Church, the Church, that is, of the first three centuries of our era.

Dr. Harnack, in describing the conditions which determined the world-wide expansion of Christianity, says:—

It was by preaching to the poor, the burdened, and the outcast, by the preaching and practice of love that Christianity turned the stony, sterile world into a fruitful field for the Church. Where no other religion could sow or reap, this religion was enabled to scatter its seed and to secure a harvest.¹

This is a statement of profound significance for the Church to-day which finds the most fruitful soil for the Gospel among the poor, the outcastes, and the fallen, for it shows that in early days evangelism had as wide a range as the whole life of man, economic, social, and religious. In fact, what some proclaim as the “larger evangelism” to-day, as though it were a twentieth century discovery, was fully practised by the early Church.

Again, it is clear that when the Gospel spread through the Roman Empire it was from the first the Gospel of a historic faith, based upon the facts of the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ and expressed in terms of high moral demands and a supreme loyalty to Christ, the Head. Neither the apostles nor their immediate successors compromised on moral issues; they challenged the corruptions of a pagan world with the corporate life of a redeemed people; they refused, at the

¹*The Expansion of Christianity*, vol. i, p. 25.

cost of their lives, to esteem State religion as having any permanent values. On this Dr. Harnack says:—

What was of greater moment than the campaign against the world and the worship of the gods, was the campaign against the apotheosis of men. This struggle, which reached its height in the uncompromising rejection of the imperial cultus, marked at the same time the resolute protest of Christianity against the blending of religion and patriotism, and consequently against that cultus of the State in which the State (personified by the Emperor) formed itself the object of the cultus. One of the cardinal aims and issues of the Christian religion was to draw a sharp line between the worship of God and the honour due to the State and to its leaders. Christianity tore up political religion by its roots.”¹

In passing, we note the striking resemblance between the position taken up by the early Church and the Confessional Church in Germany to-day. The issue is the same.

A third feature of primitive evangelism was the care taken to instruct the converts by catechumen classes, household teaching, and family services. When St. Paul left a “church” in Corinth or Philippi he committed its daily instruction to the care of those able to teach, and an early form of the voluntary service of lay members of the Church was tutorial instruction of converts and inquirers. Portions of the Gospel, the outline of our Lord’s life, and the Epistles as they were written, formed the text-books of this teaching. In this

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 371.

way the Church, rooted, as we have said, in a historic faith, found confirmation in the spiritual experience of the Christians as they were brought into the fellowship of the Church. Evangelism and worship were never really separated because it was the God Whom they worshipped to Whom they gave witness. It is important in any study of evangelism to see the significance of worship in its bearing upon the whole life of the Christian. It was in worship that Christians found the transforming power of Christ; in worship their conceptions of God were purified; and in worship too their relation not only to God but to their fellow-men was completely changed. In worship there came that complete surrender to Christ which alone made supreme loyalty to Him possible. It is interesting in this connexion to note how to-day, with the emergence of the young Churches, a much greater importance is placed upon the need of worship than was formerly the case.

A fourth field of investigation opens up in the insistence of the early Church upon the redemption not of a part only, but of the whole life of man. This is not an attempt to read the twentieth century policy of Missions into the methods of the early Church, for nothing is more striking in the records of early Christian evangelism than the refusal of the Church to limit its task to preaching. As to-day, so then, the redemptive purpose of God's love, as illustrated in our Lord's own life, was so vividly realized that no Church could adequately follow Him and divorce evangelism from the social Gospel. To quote Harnack again:—

No sickness of the soul repels Him—He is constantly surrounded by sinful women and

tax-gatherers. No bodily disease is too loathsome for Jesus. In the world of wailing, misery, filth, and profligacy which pressed upon Him every day, He kept Himself vital, pure, and busy at all times.¹

Commenting on the application of this by the early Church to the needs of the world, Harnack adds:—

Brotherliness is love on a footing of equality; ministering love means to give and to forgive and no limit to this is to be recognized. Besides, ministering love is the expression of love to God.²

The Gospel which demanded faith, obedience, and surrender also insisted upon brotherliness and service. The preaching of the Cross, while separating men from the world, also threw them into the maelstrom of world conflicts, through which they were drawn to one another in common service. This the early Church carried out in different ways. In fact it is doubtful whether the modern missionary enterprise has developed any methods of social service that were not in germ in the early days of our faith. Within 200 years of the birth of the Church, Christians had not only made provision for the support of ministers and teachers, but had built up an elaborate scheme of alms distribution for the poor, the widows, and orphans. They cared for the sick, the infirm, and the disabled. They were recognized as prison visitors and were the only people to attempt to reclaim the criminal class; they planned for the improvement of the lot of slaves, and they were first in relief in epidemics of disease or sudden calamities. They were hospitable,

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 122.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 183.

but they insisted on all converts earning their own living. The discipline was such that soon the pagans accused the Church of using its funds to bribe men to become Christians. To sum up this point: the Gospel was both personal faith in Christ and faithfulness to Him in service, both the acceptance of divine love and a life of love for those in need; both redemption from sin, fear, and self, and a strict obedience to the moral law of the New Testament; both the salvation of the soul and the care of the body; both the forgiveness of sins and the sympathetic approach to the sinful; both a spiritual enrichment and a responsibility to share one's life with one's neighbour.

Thus in the early days of Christianity evangelism had a content as large as human need. It knew no artificial distinctions between preaching, teaching, and healing. Evangelism was primarily to live the Gospel with all its implications and significance in an alien, pagan world; to apply its principles to the whole range of human life and activities and to witness to its effectiveness in transforming both the lives of the people accepting it and the environment in which they lived.

This leads us to a fifth characteristic of evangelism in the early Church. Not only were men redeemed and delivered from fear and evil; they found that the Gospel was a Gospel of power. Cyprian tells how he was won over to the Christian faith "not so much by its moral principles as by the moral power which it exhibited." He had considered it impossible to put off the old man and to put on the new; but "after I had breathed the heavenly spirit in myself and the second birth had restored me to a new manhood, then doubtful things suddenly and strangely acquired certainty for me. What

was hidden disclosed itself, darkness became enlightened; what was formerly hard seemed feasible, and what had appeared impossible seemed capable of being done.”¹ We shall see how in modern times history repeats itself in the conversion to Christ of people who, like Cyprian, find victory over sin and a new life through the liberating power of the Gospel.

The sixth point from the history of the early Church, and the last to which we shall refer, is the answer to the question: How did the Gospel spread? Everything which has been said above is included in that answer, but it would be incomplete without reference to the personal and individual witness given freely and voluntarily by all church members. Origen, writing in the third century, says:—

Christians do all in their power to spread the faith all over the world. Some of them make it their business to wander not only from city to city but also from village to village in order to gain fresh converts for the Lord.

This spontaneous and voluntary evangelism was carried out at the risk of their lives, for persecution threatened them at every turn. Eusebius explains this method of itineration thus:—

In foreign lands they simply laid the foundations of the faith. That done, they appointed others as shepherds, entrusting them with the care of the new growth while they themselves proceeded with the divine grace to other countries and to other peoples.

¹ Quoted by Harnack, vol. i, p. 265.

It is no wonder therefore that Harnack says:—

The most numerous and successful missionaries of the Christian religion were not the regular teachers but the Christians themselves, by dint of their loyalty and courage . . . Nevertheless, it was not merely the confessors and martyrs who were missionaries. It was characteristic of this religion that every one who seriously confessed the faith proved of service to its propaganda. We cannot hesitate to believe that the great mission of Christianity was in reality accomplished by means of informal missionaries.¹

What is the explanation of all this—the zeal of converts, the martyrdom of witnesses, the self-sacrifice of ordinary men and women whose lives had found a new meaning through Christ? Surely it is that all activities as well as every individual found co-ordination in the Church, the Body of Christ. It was the Church itself in its entirety that was the true witness. It was the corporate life of the living organism of the Body that gave expression to the faith which changed the world.

II

During the thousand years from the break-up of the Roman Empire to the Reformation, there were from the evangelistic point of view two outstanding features in church life, both of which carry particular lessons and analogies for our day.

The first was the community movements in Europe, under which whole kingdoms were baptized on the

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 458–460.

advice of their king or leader. In Norway, force was used to make the Norsemen change their faith, and in Russia mass movements towards Christianity led to millions of people entering the Church. To-day, when Missions in India and Africa are finding their most fruitful method in community movements, they can profit by the experience of earlier days and avoid the mistakes which ultimately led to Churches becoming decadent. It is largely because of the lessons of history that missionaries to-day seek to stand clear of political entanglements which may hinder or prejudice the spread of Christianity. Growth in the nineteenth century may have been less spectacular but it has furnished the Church with a potential leadership, a large body of people ready and able to instruct and train inquirers. Thus adherents from the present mass movements are being assimilated into the Church more effectively and after more adequate preparation for baptism by instruction in the faith and teaching about worship, than was possible in the period before the Reformation. This contrast cannot be developed here, but we note in passing that there are points in common and equally strong points of contrast between the mass movements of a past age in Europe and the present expansion of Christianity in Asia and Africa.

The second feature of the early period was the failure of the Church to maintain its existence against the spread of Islam in many parts of the Near East. When the Moslem armies invaded Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, Christianity was strongly entrenched as the State religion. Even in Arabia itself there were important Christian elements, and Mohammed from his boyhood was in touch with Christian people, but in spite of this

he never seems to have been attracted to the Christian faith. He regarded it as a foreign religion and not really suitable for the Arabs.

The State connexion of the Church and the use made of it by the State for political ends was one of the main stumbling blocks to evangelization. The people of the Near East writhed under the heavy hand of Byzantine Rome, and, as Christianity was to them but a tool of the State, hatred for the one did in course of time become hatred for the other, until the Church was almost as unpopular as the State. Arabia feared the power of Constantinople and its large array of military forces and saw that, divided and separated into many tribes, she could never stand up to the organized armies that would be pitted against her. It may reasonably be argued that Mohammed turned away from Christianity because it presented so little in common with the Arab mind. It is surely a lesson to modern missionaries that the Church must function with that measure of independence which will secure its spiritual freedom. The moment a member of a native race is convinced that the missionary is governed by the dictates of the State he is in danger of regarding him as much more a government official than a servant of God, and from that moment the missionary ceases to have the same evangelizing influence. This is why in India, Africa, and elsewhere the Church seeks to present its message freed from any trace of subservience to the State.

A second fact which emerges from a study of Islam is one that has already been noticed, namely, that the Eastern Church of those days never seems to have become indigenous in the countries into which it spread. Partly for political reasons, but also because there was no

system of devolution, the heads of the local Church throughout Arabia, Transjordan, and Palestine were all Greeks by race. The will of the local Church could not therefore be adequately expressed as it was permanently under foreign control.

Much has been written of the need to-day of building up self-governing Churches, but in the past when any serious crisis has arisen and there has been a difference of opinion between the foreign bishop and the native pastors, the opinion of the bishop has usually prevailed, on the ground that he knows what is good for the Church and his people should trust him. But this may be a victory for which the price has to be paid in succeeding generations. The safeguard will be found surely in having not only an indigenous ministry but an indigenous episcopate. Because Bishop Azariah is an Indian the Church of his diocese has been the more ready to follow his lead in evangelistic work and in campaigns of witness. Every church member feels that the Church belongs to him. He has a responsibility for its growth and consequently it becomes a Church rooted in the life of the people, indigenous in the best sense of the word, and because of this its evangelistic zeal is stronger than in any other diocese in India.

Returning to our examination of the influence of the Church in Mohammed's day we may ask why it failed to win this young inquirer. Why, when he was a seeker after God, could he find no message in the Christian faith as he heard it? Some responsibility for this must be attributed to the theology of that age. Mohammed did not of intent pervert the Christian doctrines he learnt. He misunderstood much, and his errors have caused serious difficulties ever since, but if his perversions were

not wilful misrepresentations of the truth, who was responsible? The Prophet thought that Christians believed in three Gods—God, Jesus, and Mary, and that these three formed the Trinity. His picture of our Lord and his reproduction of New Testament stories are a travesty of the gospel record, but the blame was not altogether his, and some responsibility must be placed upon the teaching of the Eastern Church. Its leaders did not recognize the need to translate the liturgies, nor, as far as is known, the Scriptures, into the vernaculars. Greek was the language of the Church and State, and the policy was to make it the *lingua franca* throughout the Near East. But it was not realized that people can only worship adequately in their mother tongue, and in Arabia there seems to have been no Arabic version of the Scriptures, nothing indeed to attract to the Christian faith a young Arab seeking after God.

III

The third period, if adequately dealt with, would carry us from the Reformation to the present time; but space does not allow this and we must omit a survey of the efforts of the Spanish and Portuguese missionaries and the Roman Church. We pick up our thread again shortly before the dawn of the nineteenth century.

The modern phase of missionary work began, in the Protestant Churches, with the Evangelical Revival under Wesley and others. This has been dealt with in a previous chapter, but for purposes of this study let us note at the outset two points: (1) the strong emphasis on personal conversion and upon the soul of man as distinct from the body; (2) the growth from this individualism due to

emphasis upon the soul to a clearer conception of the Gospel as meant for the whole life of man—spirit, soul, and body. What started as an attempt to save men's souls, quickly developed a more complete New Testament content of the Gospel through the opening of medical missions, welfare centres, orphanages, relief schemes, in fact the whole gamut of the plan of the early Church. We have seen how in England the evangelism of Wesley led to the campaign for the emancipation of slaves, the lifting of the whole moral standard of English life, the application of the Gospel to social conditions in mines and factories, to the employment of women and child labour, until the rational life of our country was purified, because a band of men dared to preach a Gospel that dealt with the root evils of life in sin, selfishness, and lust.

Let us examine this further. Samuel Marsden, the pioneer and founder of Missions in New Zealand, in a sermon preached in Paramatta, Sydney, in 1813, expressed the evangelistic message as he interpreted it in his day. Preaching on the text in St. Matthew xv. 30, 31, he said:—

We think little or nothing of the state of our souls however diseased they may be and in whatever danger of perishing. There is no person in heaven or on earth who can remove the disease of the soul save the same almighty Jesus Who wrought the miracles recorded in our text, for there is no other Name. We must come to Him or perish. Do we want divine light? Let us come to Him Who commands light to shine out of darkness and He will give us light. Do we want spiritual life? Let us come to Him for it, for He says: "I am the Resurrection and the Life."

This personal appeal to the conscience and the intensive work of winning men for Christ showed results in widely different parts of the world very similar to those in England during the Wesley revival.

In 1816, C.M.S. missionaries in Sierra Leone reported that revival had broken out among the freed slaves, and that it was marked by deep conviction of sin. Dr. Stock, writing of these events, says:—

At first they [the Africans] only came for what they could get, but soon one and another appeared deeply convicted of sin and crying to God for mercy.

People rose early in those days in West Africa for prayer, and the spiritual awakening was marked by deep moral changes in character, re-creation of men and women, the building up of new lives and new homes. Revivals, often of an emotional character, are quite common among the negro population in America; but these people have a background of Christianity which was entirely absent from West Africa in 1816. The people of Sierra Leone were ignorant and often pagans of a very degraded type, with no religious knowledge or background whatever, and yet they exhibited in the revival many of the same characteristics as in the revival in England. They showed “transformed lives, honesty, purity, and love in the place of pilfering and uncleanness and incessant quarrels. What could effect such a change? No missionary could do it, no army of missionaries; but the Holy Spirit alone.”¹

From the first therefore missionaries began to look for the work of the Holy Spirit in the lives of men. They

¹ *History of the C.M.S.*, vol. i, p. 165.

believed that what God had done for them He could do for others. They went forth convinced that this Gospel could change human nature, that it had only to be proclaimed for people to discover that it was the power of God and the fulfilment of the redemptive purposes of God revealed in Christ.

A third reflection on this early nineteenth century period shows that revival did not come out of a process of civilization. The order of the process was not to civilize and to educate first in the hope that spiritual values would be appreciated later. No, it was rather the reverse. The Gospel came first to an illiterate people and as it operated in their lives civilization followed. In other words, civilization was seen to be a fruit of the Gospel. Such a presentation of the Christian faith to African ex-slaves was intensely personal. They were brought face to face with Christ and His claim upon their lives, and miracles happened when they met Him.

A similar experience was recorded in India. In 1857 a small band of American missionaries in Ludhiana in the Punjab issued an appeal for united prayer for a spiritual awakening. Different societies joined forces for a week of intercession and almost immediately there came a sudden and unlooked for revival in Tinnevely. The British Isles were at the same time being swept by a corresponding movement which began in a prayer meeting, and was from the first a spontaneous response to the urge of the Spirit. Again we note that experience among simple village folk in India was strikingly like the experience of people who found new spiritual life in this country. The spirit that governed these movements is well described by a committee member of the Society of those days:—

The want of missionaries is no doubt the point of immediate pressure, but that can be met only by increased effectiveness on the part of the whole spiritual body, more singleness of dedication to the Lord's work, more holy energy, more true devotedness: and how shall these be, except by a renewed effusion of that Spirit Who is the Mover and Promoter to all godly action.¹

In the days when Moody and Sankey were touring England, a new movement began in Travancore, mainly among the Syrian Christians. Again, as among the West African people, but this time among a different race in a different continent, the revival was marked by a strong conviction of sin, and by penitence, by restitution, and a renewed moral character. On one memorable day in 1875 over 500 converts were baptized, and the new believers were at once taught the devotional use of the Bible. It may be noted in passing that out of the Travancore revival came a new discovery of the place of song and lyric in witness and worship.

In 1893 another such movement was recorded from Uganda. It arose when the missionaries began themselves to realize their own deep need of the Holy Spirit. Africans joined in this spiritual quest for new power, and immediately there followed a new service of witness. They went everywhere preaching the Word. The most fruitful areas were those where there had been a steady and systematic preparation through the reading of the Bible. It was much more an awakening in the Church than a revival among the heathen. The outstanding result of it was a great extension of the work.

¹ *History of C.M.S.*, vol. ii, p. 34.

It is necessary to set out these early spiritual movements if we are to understand the meaning of evangelism in our day. Behind them lay the conviction that the Christian faith could only be propagated as the Holy Spirit worked in rejuvenating power in people's lives. Missions the world over reveal the fact that where such awakenings do occur there is a new sense of sin and a personal conversion to Jesus Christ, but the matter does not end in mere individualism, for some of the greatest social services of Missions have sprung from an experience of conversion.

To-day the world is well-nigh bankrupt in those realms of life that build up moral character, and as in earlier days there is an awakening to a sense of deep spiritual need. With it there has come a demand not so much for apologetics or evidence of the faith as for a demonstration of the certainties of a valid spiritual experience. As some one has expressed it: "The age of apologetics is past and people will only listen to certainties." But what are these certainties?

Dr. Theodore Woods, the late Bishop of Winchester, when preaching the annual C.M.S. Sermon in 1924 said:—

If it be true that history repeats itself, it is also true that spiritual history repeats itself . . . we talk less about conversion than our forefathers, yet the need of it to-day is even more pressing than ever they knew. To say that the world's greatest need is converted men and women is to make a plain statement of a plain fact. We have been steadily drifting up against this fact for years, but never more so than in these years during and since the great war.

We have seen how to the founders of the C.M.S. this doctrine of conversion was a root conviction. Truth may be expressed in many ways, but the history of the C.M.S. shows that its periods of largest expansion and deepest growth have been those when men and women have sought through prayer and witness to bring others to a personal knowledge of Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord, and it would be a grievous error if we imagined that because the young Churches are carrying on the task of evangelism the days of missionary evangelism are over. On the contrary, as we have seen in previous chapters, missionaries must, to-day more than ever, testify by lip and by life to the power of the Gospel. The Churches which are arising in eastern lands are by the pressure of circumstances being forced to a programme of action, and it must be action in which the missionary is a true co-operator.

In some quarters there is a hesitancy about the duty of appealing definitely to men to come to Christ, a tendency to departmentalize the task of the missionary so that one may, for example, be a teacher without any real sense of responsibility for the direct evangelization of his students or pupils. Some talk vaguely about the Gospel permeating the minds of people and others of their fear of proselytism. Some would argue that the teaching of science is a form of evangelism, and no one would deny that it could be; but surely not if the witness to a personal experience in Christ is suppressed or withheld. The challenge of missionary service is that a man must have so vital an experience of God in his own life that he will inevitably share it with others. However we may interpret evangelism it fails unless it brings men and women into direct and personal touch with Christ, the Lord.

The lesson so strongly emphasized by early C.M.S. leaders is finding a fresh emphasis to-day in the witness of the young Churches. We have seen this in India in the Dornakal Diocese, and because of this fact we see again how every form of missionary activity must be centred in the Church. The calling forth and founding of these Churches was the task of Missions at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The witness of the Gospel through these Churches is the task of this twentieth century. The conclusion that we reach therefore is not that missionary work outgrows the era of evangelism but rather that, the Churches having been founded, evangelism becomes their primary task, every activity carries an evangelistic purpose, and every worker is in a very real sense an evangelist. Because we tend so much to separate work into departments duly labelled we lose much of spiritual import. For example, pastors have been distinguished from evangelists, and young laymen have often been appointed to supplement the pastoral work by preaching the Gospel. But such a plan is a travesty of apostolic methods. The pastor must be primarily an evangelist, and if that is accepted, he will find that the task of training his flock to witness, of leading them forth to preach is one of the most fruitful ways of strengthening and deepening the spiritual life of the Church. The pastor must accept this as *his* personal duty, a duty that can never be delegated to any one, as it is inherent in his divine commission.

We have already spoken of the dangers that lie in the over-emphasis on the use of the paid catechist, and here we only note in passing that a pastor is an evangelist. If this is true, how much more true it is that every missionary must be an evangelist. It is within the

structure of the Church that the missionary finds his place and as a teacher, doctor, or other specialist bears his own humble witness along with his native brethren to the Gospel of Christ. In one hospital a motto was adopted that every hospital or other social worker must be an evangelist, and conversely that every evangelist must be a social worker. Catechists in the hospital had to learn to be dressers or to take part in other practical activities of medical service. The scheme worked admirably because the charge that the catechist was paid merely to preach was refuted when every one was lending a hand in the healing of the sick and suffering.

The task of evangelism, as outlined above, raises both for India and elsewhere the fundamental issue whether a missionary should aim definitely at the winning of Hindus and other non-Christians to the Christian faith. It is not evangelism to make bad Hindus into good Hindus, nor is it evangelism to permeate the Hindu system with a Christian ethic. For most missionaries the issue is so clear that this is not a matter for discussion. They have gone abroad as heralds of Good News and they preach their message with the single object in view to win people to Christ. But the question has been raised in recent years by Mr. Gandhi, who asks why the missionary should not be content to enrich Indian religions, culture, and art, by bringing his faith to the common stock. Hinduism, it is suggested, would recognize Christ as divine and seek to approximate its standards to the Christian ideal. Why, we are asked, break into and disrupt an ancient order?

Now the strength of Hinduism has for centuries been its caste system. It is a sort of colour bar that has been grafted on to religion and developed into a creed, and

which has thus provided India with a classification of society. When the Buddha arose he had to face this problem of an entrenched and caste-ridden Hinduism. Eventually Hinduism prevailed and Buddhism died out of India. It has always been the genius of Hinduism to enrich itself *at the expense of others* by absorbing into its system mystical and ethical elements from other faiths, and yet without any appreciable change in its essential character. It absorbs but still remains Hinduism. Even in the crisis in the second century B.C. when Asoka, an ardent advocate of Buddhism, threw the whole of his influence on the side of the Buddhists in proclaiming a new and emancipating way of life, Hinduism again triumphed. From the death of Asoka Hindus set themselves to collaborate and to work with Buddhists. They adopted Buddhist mystical elements, their sculpture and their painting, until they brought about a fusion of Buddhist piety with Hindu philosophy. A religious development followed which took the form of a combination of mysticism and the cruder cults of Siva and Vishnu. Hinduism set forth Krishna as the warrior god against the pacifism of Buddhism, but the whole process was designed to unify religion, to avoid conflict, and yet continually to keep the Hindu faith as supreme, and it triumphed because it was national and sought to defend the motherland.

For centuries since, the voice of Buddha has been faintly heard in India, but only as an echo of Hinduism. Buddhism, which once awakened India to a new idealism, has, as a religion, practically disappeared from the country. It stamped its art on Hinduism and it did affect the whole nation, yet it failed. And history shows how this process has always gone on in India. Hinduism,

like some great octopus, throws its tentacles around every faith it meets, and eventually, having absorbed all it wants, casts it aside to die. So Buddhism passed out of Indian life, and so it has been until Hinduism met Christianity. As long as the Christian faith was represented by a passive and un-evangelistic Church it was not seriously concerned, but to-day the situation is very different, and some seven millions of people, drawn mainly from Hinduism, are members of the Christian Church.

The movement away from Hinduism to Christianity has assumed such large proportions that Hindus are alarmed, and Mr. Gandhi enters the arena to do battle for Hinduism, but in a semi-Christian garb. He has addressed many conferences of missionaries. He speaks quite frankly about what he describes as the wrong which missionaries commit in proselytizing. He declares that a Hindu never really becomes a Christian, and if he does he is of no use to either religion. Why not therefore abandon evangelistic work altogether and seek to make bad Hindus good and good ones better? And so Hinduism once more throws out its tentacles to absorb all that it wants from Christianity—parts of the Sermon on the Mount and other elements—to help it to meet a new age, but having taken all it wants it would cast the rest of Christian faith aside as a dead thing. And indeed it would be a dead thing if the Church were to surrender its message and mission to this plausible pretext of leavening the Hindu religion. It is no wonder that Mr. Gandhi is opposed to the entire evangelistic programme of Missions.

The issue stands out clearly to-day; shall Christianity blunt its witness until it does not matter whether a man

is a Hindu or a Christian, until the Church ceases to preach a gospel of redemption, until nemesis comes in a dominant Hinduism as it did in the case of Buddhism; or shall the Church aim definitely at the winning of Hindus for Christ, at the building up of a Church which in turn will seek to make India a Christian land? Mr. Gandhi tells us that "Jesus occupies in my heart the place of one of the great teachers who have had a considerable influence on my life."¹ He therefore argues that "we do not need to proselytize either by our speech or by our writings . . . would that I could persuade all my missionary friends to take this view of their mission."¹ Exactly; but if they did it would kill the faith for which they and we stand.

One more point arises in this connexion. Evangelism is not proselytizing. The missionary does not force his faith upon an unwilling people. He presents it to those who ask for it. The urge towards Christianity is not due to the strong pressure of foreigners upon a simple-hearted native peasantry. It arises from a deep hunger for God in the hearts of men of every race. To Hindus who become Christians there comes a release from fear, a new-found liberty, love, and power, and those who had spent their lives in dread of evil spirits now find that Christ saves and redeems from sin, fear, and hatred. The urge to missionary evangelism to-day comes from the peoples of Asia and Africa themselves, who find the answer to an age-long quest in the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

We have studied the early expansion of Christianity and have seen the whole Church engaged in its corporate witness to Christ in a variety of ways. We have seen too that certain facts stand out as true for all time, true

¹ Mr. Gandhi's *Ideas*, p. 92.

because they are part of God's plan in world redemption. We now turn to the lessons of evangelism for our day.

Can we first say what we mean by this term? Dr. Kagawa says: "Evangelism means the conversion of people from worldliness to Christ-like godliness." Another Japanese says: "It is the imparting of the Christian experience from one life to another." A Korean says: "Evangelism is a passion to share Christ with others." A Chinese says: "To me evangelism is the task of presenting the whole Christian Gospel by word and deed to man and his society with the definite object of converting him to be a child of God." A Siamese says: "Evangelism means living, doing, and talking for Christ. Living is a pre-requisite to doing and talking for Christ. By doing I refer to medical work, nursing, and social uplift, and talking includes personal conversation, teaching, and preaching." A Ceylonese writes: "Evangelism means to me primarily the proclamation of the Good News—the Gospel. Something has happened and the world has not been the same ever since. The evangelist's business is to make this known." A Mexican says: "Evangelism signifies to me the endeavour to bring all men in touch with the redeeming power of Christ."

These statements are drawn from replies to a questionnaire sent out to a large number of Christians in many lands. Running through them all there is a remarkable unanimity. They all agree that evangelism means to bring men into personal and vital touch with Christ, and that this involves an acceptance of Him as Saviour and Lord. This to most is a decisive act, but an act nevertheless that is to be regarded as only the beginning of a lifelong experience under the leadership of Christ. Other replies to the inquiry stress the incalculable factor in

evangelism—the work of the Holy Spirit. The Bishop of Dornakal writes: “God alone can touch the hearts of people. The forces that make for change of religious allegiance on the part of men are many, and often beyond human analysis. It is our duty to watch the movements of the Spirit lest we frustrate God’s work by our unbelief.” The Bishop rightly stresses the super-human factor—the living God revealed in Christ: “The work of evangelism is first, last, and always a super-human process. It centres in the living Lord of life. It rests upon the solid, secure, indubitable, historic fact of Christ and present day authentic experience of Christ.”¹ In gauging the task of evangelism we dare not lose sight of the fact that the initiative has been taken by God, and we as a Church are summoned to proclaim what He has done. No credit belongs to us for we are ambassadors for Christ and our message is: “God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself.” It is never given to any man to convert or “change” another. The Church now as in the first century sees that this is the work of the Holy Spirit. The position is that God has called men and women into fellowship with Himself through the Cross and has built them into a community through which He operates in this reconciliation of the world unto Himself.

Evangelism cannot therefore be viewed solely as the task of individual Christians nor can its objective be achieved in isolation from the wider needs of men. It is to the Church that God has committed the task of winning the world. It is to the Church that God has given a Gospel of redemption which is nothing less than the will of God applied fully to all human relationships.

¹ *Studies in Evangelism*, W. Paton, p. 52.

Thus the Gospel is both personal and social. It changes both the individual and his environment. A new world can only come through new men and women, working in corporate fellowship. We turn, therefore, to the task of the Church in evangelism.

We have already referred to the striking statement by Harnack in regard to the early Church, that it was "the Church in its entirety" that carried the Gospel in the teeth of persecution to the far corners of the earth. To-day we are relearning this truth, and it is as true now as ever that in the mission fields it is "the rank and file of church members" who are the most successful preachers of the Gospel. Until this truth is acknowledged by church people everywhere, evangelism must be hindered. The great need to-day is for a rediscovery of the priesthood of the laity, in such a way as to enable them to give their own witness to the Gospel. The Church would never have expanded beyond Palestine if the task of evangelism had been left to the ordained men and to whole time, paid preachers. Too often have we so trained young Churches as to encourage them to regard preaching as a paid office. One Indian worker frankly declared: "I discourage lay evangelism because if the Church did this voluntarily I should lose my occupation!" On the other side let us remember that the great majority of converts to Christ in Asia and Africa to-day owe their conversion to the witness of the Church and not to direct missionary preaching.

If we accept the premise that it is the duty of the Church to evangelize, then it follows that as soon as a Church is in being in any country it must assume a primary responsibility for the evangelization of people in its area or country. Nothing is more fatal than for a

young Church to leave evangelism to the foreign missionary. Surely we have reached the stage when we recognize that missionary societies and the Churches that support them are auxiliary forces in evangelism—auxiliary to the young Churches and partners with them in their great task. Evangelism starts with the Church. If this is to be more than a mere platitude it must carry with it certain consequences that are far reaching and in some cases revolutionary. First and foremost it means a co-ordination of all missionary activities within the orbit of the Church, the avoidance of independent action by foreign missionaries, the alignment of all institutional work to the policy of the Church until every Christian activity finds its true centre and purpose within rather than alongside of the Church.

This can be illustrated from medical missions. The terms "individual Gospel" and "social Gospel," as separate and distinctive things, are really out of date, for experience shows that the two cannot be divorced. More accurately we should speak of the whole Gospel—that is, a Gospel that knows no limits in its range of redemption. The early Church quickly discovered this and founded all kinds of institutions for the sick and suffering. In the nineteenth century it was argued that medical work was an effective way of making Christians, that when the Church was established medical missions would no longer be needed. This point of view has had to be abandoned because it is the young Churches that need so much, not only what medical service has to give but what it has to teach.

In South India a Christian community is growing in an environment of superstition and fear. In one village the smallpox goddess is worshipped and in another the

cholera goddess. Because these and other scourges have visited the villages the people are convinced that they have been sent by some unknown god whom they ignorantly seek to placate. Into such an area comes a Christian doctor. He proves by vaccination that these diseases are not visitations of the gods, and the old fears give way. But fear had been one of the most powerful factors in village life and the doctor who helps in this way is not only evangelizing, he is giving the young Church a new conception of life.

Let us look at another scene. I stood one day in a village in Western India with a group of village Christians. Into our midst there staggered a stranger, obviously ill, and with two small children. His story was one well known in these villages. His wife had died the day before; he himself was starving and ill with fever; the children needed help. What could the Church do? These Christians had learnt in practical ways the new value of human life as discovered at the Cross. They knew what our Lord would have done in the circumstances, and they promptly applied their Gospel to the man's need. Evangelism at that moment meant practical help. One man brought quinine and took the man to his house and put him to bed. Women of the congregation volunteered to look after the children.

The question we are tempted to ask is how far the Church in any land could learn these lessons of a Gospel for all needs without the practical lessons of medical missions. Through the example of hospital and welfare centre the Churches learn in a fuller and richer way the real content of the Gospel. That is why in the training centre at Vidyanagar in South India all the young men who are preparing to be village teachers are given a simple

course in medicine and first aid, and are supplied, when they go out to their schools as teachers, with boxes of medicines so that they may be able to minister both to the mind and the body.

Let us take another illustration. A Church grows up surrounded by those who believe in *karma* or fate. They see the mass of the people adopting an attitude of indifference towards suffering, for they accept whatever comes in this fatalistic way. This Hindu doctrine exercises a profound influence upon the people and in these conditions the Church is born and grows up. It will either see the Gospel as a message of power and life which breaks these fetters of fatalism or it will succumb to the same inertia. But as the handmaid of the Church comes the hospital or the travelling dispensary, and at once the message takes on a new meaning. It is not merely humanitarianism. It is simply the natural outcome of knowing and serving Christ. He healed the sick. He expects us to do the same.

The Christian Medical Association of India issued a statement some years ago which bears on this point:—

It is our conviction that the ministry of healing is an integral part of the work of the Christian Church, whose mission it is to make God known as revealed in Jesus Christ. Christ affirms that the works which He did testified that the Father had sent Him. His ministry of healing was an expression of the compassion and love of God towards man and by the work of man in God's sight.¹

The C.M.S. medical missions illustrate these principles. The Church in Uganda has learnt to serve its

¹ Quoted in *Studies in Evangelism*, pp. 258, 259.

fellow-men through the Mengo Hospital. The Baganda women carry on their maternity work among all the tribes of the protectorate, among the very people they met only in warfare prior to the coming of Christianity to the country. Pagan Africa, as it turns to Christianity, sees in medical missions a phenomenon never before dreamt of. Nothing in paganism had taught men to love and serve their fellow-men. Human life has a new meaning through mission hospitals, and the C.M.S. carries out this policy in a line of mission hospitals from Egypt, through the Sudan and on into Uganda, Kenya, Ruanda, and Tanganyika. In China it combats disease in Fukien, Chekiang, Szechwan, Kwangsi and Hunan, and in Kunming and Pakhoi. The C.M.S. Iran Mission, at the dawn of a new day of liberty and with wonderful openings for the Gospel, relates its evangelism to medical service and maternity work in four main centres. Along the North-West Frontier of India, the C.M.S. has a chain of mission hospitals, facing the closed land of Afghanistan and at the entrance to each of the five famous passes between India and Afghanistan. In the hot plains of Bengal and Bihar there is a large hospital at Ranaghat and a leper colony at Purulia. Among the aboriginal tribes in the Santal country and among the Bhils medical service goes on. What does the Church in these countries not owe to this work?

The hospital is needed as much to-day as ever, but it must be correlated to the Church and not conducted as a separate institution. The one purpose of all missionary work is to place Christ in full control of individuals and society, and every branch of the work must serve this end in such a way as to make all activities one unified

whole, expressive of the Gospel for the spirit, soul, and body of man.

In the same way education must serve the Church. Education and evangelism are not identical but it is quite impossible to understand Christian education except as it takes its place in the total evangelistic purpose of the Church. Bishop Roots writing on this says:—

I am deeply impressed with the intimate way in which the various aspects of the work of evangelism supplement and support each other in that work of evangelism which has been most fruitful in deeply satisfactory and abiding results. Where the many-sided life and work of the Christian fellowship is presented through the activities of the Church as a whole in such a way as to emphasize through vital organization the organic character and at the same time the power of developing personal freedom and fellowship, I believe evangelism reaches its greatest and most abiding results.¹

Dr. Oldham expresses this very clearly when he says:—

What ultimately matters in religious education is not our ideas about religion, nor those of our pupils, but God's truth.²

Missionary schools must aim, not merely at the inculcation of the Christian ethic, but rather at the teaching of that faith in Jesus Christ upon which the ethic has been built. This means that a school or college staff is responsible for bringing every pupil face to face with Jesus Christ, because only thus can they find that

¹ Quoted in *Studies in Evangelism*, p. 235.

² *Education, its Meaning and Mission*, p. 31.

personal knowledge of God which will introduce them to a fulness of life. Religious education will thus be based upon eternal verities and will demand of all pupils that response that will compel a complete allegiance to God.

This is true evangelism but in religious education care has always to be taken that the pupil relates his faith to the problems of real life, and this involves living a life of fellowship in the community of the school. In this way, through every subject taught, through the entire life and spirit of the school, the pupil meets the challenge of Christ and the call for service through His Church. Christian education, if rightly based, is a bulwark against a civilization in which there is no place for God. But this does connote that the staffs of all missionary schools and colleges must be men and women who are "convinced of the importance of the Christian purpose in education and believing in the school as a place where children may be brought into touch with reality and to a knowledge of God, the Supreme Reality."¹ They must therefore be men and women of religious conviction and Christian character, able to give their own witness to the faith that is in them. "They are called upon to live a life of faith in the Fatherhood of God, finding their strength in union with Jesus Christ, the Eternal Son, and depending for their daily life and work on the power and inspiration of the Holy Spirit."² Such is the declared policy of missionary education in the Near East. It is evangelistic in purpose and is the outcome of nearly a century's work for Moslems.

How then is evangelism to become an integral part of school and college life? Dr. Lindsay's Commission, in

¹ *Why Christian Schools?* Edited by H. Danby, p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

investigating into higher education in India, criticized the widening gulf between the college and the Church. They recommended that colleges should bear a responsibility for the people in their area, and that the staff and students of colleges should engage in work of extension and research by which they would be able to make a distinctive contribution to the Church. The Rev. H. M. Grace, formerly of the C.M.S. school at Budo, Uganda, and now of Achimota, suggests that a fruitful evangelistic plan for schools is:—

(1) To create an atmosphere which is saturated with the thought: "Do all for the glory of God." This means: (a) A well-chosen staff. The corporate spirit to be fostered in three staff services a term and three intercession services. (b) Constant propaganda at morning prayers and house prayers, and in Sunday sermons. (c) Definite teaching worked into Scripture periods.

(2) A picked band who are gifted and inspired, and wise in winning souls.

(3) Personal appeals at special seasons in college chapel, such as Confirmation Sunday.

(4) Use of confirmation time; preparation for definite decisions.

(5) A special mission and missionary in every school generation of four or five years.

In some mission stations, hospital, school, and church are in one compound, visibly one unit and signifying a unity that lies deeper than mere propinquity. The hospital and school are both feeders of the Church. The three help and are helped by one another. The sick are visited by the church members. A native clergyman may

be chaplain to the hospital. Elementary hygiene and welfare work are taught in upper classes of the school by hospital workers. Ordination candidates attend hospital classes. The teachers are taught elementary medicine in the hospital. The doctors take services and preach in the church, and the clergy visit and itinerate with the hospital workers in the little station unit. All this tends to foster the closest co-operation which is essential if the native Church is to be taught its responsibility to the sick.

Rural reconstruction, too, forms an integral part of this scheme. It is true to say that worship will be less than Christian unless the realities of social, economic, and national life are submitted to the light of God's Holy Spirit, for God's redemptive purpose covers the entire range of man's spiritual, mental, and physical needs, and offers the one sure hope for a world in which sin and suffering abound. As this is applied to actual conditions the Church becomes the indispensable leader in a rural community. This is proving to be true through Christian individuals such as Kagawa of Japan, James Yen of China, and Dr. Laubach of the Philippine Islands, who are bringing to bear their Christian vision and spirit on the outstanding problems of poverty and illiteracy. The Church thus becomes a Christian society within a rural community and serves to build up a rural civilization.

We have travelled a long way in this chapter and we have seen evangelism as of the very life of the Church. Let me then close by quoting once more from the Bishop of Dornakal:—

If the corporate witness of the Church is of such vital consequence for the evangelization of the

world, the Churches, younger and older, must be called to great acts of penitence, confession, and amendment. . . The appeal to the conscience of the whole non-Christian world to accept the claims of Jesus Christ as the revelation of God's love and power is a task that can only be accomplished by the older Churches and the younger Churches working together with one mind and purpose. Together they must solve the problems arising out of war and peace, out of international and inter-racial relationships. Together they must solve the problems arising out of the divisions of Christendom. Thus the Church will move forward as one man to finish its divinely commissioned task—namely, to reveal the love of God in Christ to a sin-stricken, divided world—so that things in the heavens and things upon the earth may be summed up in Christ—to the glory of God the Father.”¹

¹ *Studies in Evangelism*, p. 45.

CHAPTER VIII

A SELF-SUPPORTING CHURCH

SYNOPSIS

Financial relations as between Missions and societies: stages—complete dependence of former on latter—as work expanded income increased—post-war economic crisis with expanding work and decreasing income.

The problem considered in various fields. The experience of Indian towns and rural areas—Burma, China, Japan, Africa.

Factors contributing to development of self-support: the numerical strength of the Christian community—leadership—relation of witness to finance. Example of Church in Sumatra and in Korea. Indigenous service, voluntary and in partnership. Example of Alwaye College and Settlement, and of the Bethel Ashram.

Mutual help necessary as between older and younger Churches—financial assistance for the latter should be adapted to changing circumstances—grants to new enterprises for a fixed period. Application of this principle to institutional work—educational and medical. Principle of giving. Bishop Azariah's conclusions.

CHAPTER VIII

WE NOW COME in these studies to another aspect of the development of the Christian communities which presents a very difficult problem—the complex question of self-support. When modern missionary work began, it was uniformly a movement of religious thought from West to East, from people of lands of wealth, power, progress, and expansion to peoples of old-world cultures and yet of great poverty, who were largely living in the past, and in some cases in stagnation.

For a century and a half missionaries have sought to implant the Christian faith in all these lands. They were not alone in this, nor were they always the founders of the Missions they conducted. After the annexation of the Punjab, John Lawrence, Robert Montgomery, and other army leaders invited the Christian missionaries to open up work in the Punjab and subscribed liberally to the needed funds. In the same way Herbert Edwardes, the Commissioner for Peshawar, encouraged missionaries to settle on the North-West Frontier. He wrote: "It is not the duty of the Government as a government to evangelize India; but it is the duty of individual Christians, and we are much safer if we do our duty than if we neglect it." Henry Lawrence invited the C.M.S. into Lucknow, and it is a literal fact that the majority of C.M.S. stations in India, north, south, east, and west, have been opened at the request, and often at the expense, of civil and military men on the spot.

Mission policy in early days in India was not to leave

the Church in England to finance the work. In fact the reverse is true, and for a time plans were made by which Christians in the Army and Civil Service in India would find the money if the C.M.S. would produce the men. In the Punjab a Church Missionary Association was formed and a sum of over £3000 was raised. This money did not come only from officers. A number of private soldiers were keenly interested in the work and subscribed to its funds most liberally.

For a hundred years a dual process was at work. At home income steadily rose from almost nothing in 1800 to an incredibly large amount in 1900. With this increasing income the Missions spread and grew, a vast army of mission employees was engaged, and work progressed as long as the money was available to support it. Thus it came about that the extension of the Kingdom of God in eastern lands was for a long period dependent in a large degree upon the economic resources of Great Britain and America. A few far-seeing missionary leaders saw that this state of affairs could never be more than temporary, and moreover that such use of money on a liberal scale might in the end prove a weakness rather than a strength to the infant Churches.

The great war of 1914-18 was followed by an economic crisis which, with or without a war, was bound to occur ultimately when, owing to economic stringency or some other serious international financial disturbance, funds would no longer be available to the same extent for overseas work. Such a crisis did actually come, and from 1920 to to-day missionary gifts in the Churches in Europe and America have steadily decreased. At the same time the Churches founded during the previous century began through their own witness to extend their borders.

Missionary societies therefore found themselves faced with all the difficulties attendant upon the concurrence of a falling income at the home base with a rapidly expanding Church abroad. Year by year the gap between available income and the demands of the work became wider. Missions and Churches sought in a variety of ways to meet a situation that they believed to be temporary. Reserves were used and missionary societies carried large deficits rather than refuse the demands of the hour. Reasons given for this falling income were frequently superficial, and few people seemed to realize that through the financial situation God was speaking to His Church.

But with the persistence of this state of financial stringency Missions have had to revise their policy, to overhaul their budgets and to make drastic reductions. This chapter is an attempt to interpret the financial needs of Missions in terms of principles which must govern church growth and in the light of experience of the whole period since 1800.

First of all, let it be noted that mission policy during that time has been by no means uniform or consistent. Most Missions depending upon financial resources from the West developed a programme that could only be maintained if money were available for its support; churches and schools were built and other institutions were established without reference to the supporting capacity of the communities for which they were built. This economic dependence of the younger Churches upon the West gave the missionaries a position of power and authority to control the destinies of these Christian communities. The initiative lay with the missionary, and in consequence native Christians were not able to express themselves in their own way. Their self-respect

was not developed as they became completely dependent on foreign support subject to foreign control. It was quite evident that as long as this state of things lasted, Christians in the East would never come to regard the Churches as their own, that as long as they were moulded to foreign ways they could not be truly indigenous. Evangelistic zeal was indeed often damped if the missionary kept the reins of the work in his own hands. While numerous instances could be cited where this description is literally true, it is no less true that other missionaries recognized these difficulties at an early date and sought to lay the foundations of their work in an entirely different way, so that the emphasis was thrown upon self-support and the Churches have made rapid strides towards the full maintenance of their work.

In 1861 Henry Venn enunciated the policy which has been summarized in the phrase: "Self-supporting, self-governing, and self-extending Churches." Plans ever since have been in operation towards the complete autonomy of the younger Churches, both economically and spiritually, and this ultimate autonomy may rightly be described as a central objective in most Missions in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was a plan of devolution—slow but methodical. The chief hindrance to its general application was that the younger Churches were convinced that there was wealth in the West beyond the dreams of man, and that, whatever happened, in the long run it would be available. There was still therefore a sense of security based upon western support. Further complications arose as missionaries applied their foreign scale of values and standards, and a westernizing process was thus introduced which raised the cost both of living and of the work to be maintained.

History reveals the rather startling fact that the only religion that has spread on other than a self-supporting basis is Christianity, and we are bound to ask ourselves how far the administration of foreign funds has been wise. An Indian Christian has said: "If the missionaries had come as Jesus sent out His messengers, without purse and scrip, we Indians would gladly have supported them and their Church, but they came with lots of money and elaborate equipment. Instead of giving support we learnt to expect support."

Missionaries were faced with a practical problem and had to experiment. Looking back, we can see where mistakes obviously were made, but we can also record striking instances where Churches grew up from their inception on a self-supporting basis, where other Churches have attained almost complete self-support in the course of years and where others again are well on the way to self-support. It is necessary therefore to review the problem in more detail. In India, many city congregations are working upon a fully self-supporting basis, but the village churches are largely dependent upon foreign support, though in the dioceses of Travancore and Tinnevely considerable progress has been made, and a number of the pastors in rural areas are maintained from local church funds. Throughout India, the grants from foreign sources to diocesan and other councils for the support of pastors have in many cases been seriously reduced, and the Churches are compelled by the economic conditions of these days to face resolutely the question of further self-support. One of the main difficulties is that the Churches have grown up accustomed to be fed largely from abroad, and have never taken seriously the warnings about possible reductions. They

have developed on western standards of payment and to-day they are faced with the hard task of adjustment.

The Karen Church in Burma has from the beginning been self-supporting and financially independent of the Mission. It is a Christian community of 400,000, and it pays the entire expenses not only of its churches but of its educational institutions, higher as well as lower, and maintains its own theological college for the training of its ministry.

Of the position in China it is impossible to speak with any degree of accuracy because of the financial upheaval caused by the war, but prior to the outbreak of hostilities between China and Japan the number of self-supporting Churches was comparatively small. In two dioceses where serious reductions had to be made the reactions were in sharp contrast. In the one the people at once began to plan to carry on the work in their own way in spite of their restricted income; but in the other, urgent appeals came home for the restoration of grants on the ground that such reductions would gravely injure the Church. The Chinese do not need to be taught the economics of church support. They are themselves the most astute business people of the Far East.

In Japan we have another striking contrast. If the Indian Church is mainly rural and poor, the Japanese Church is on the whole urban. Approximately three-quarters of its members are in cities and produce a high percentage of leaders. Its ministers are well trained and equipped and it is Japanese through and through.

In every department of national growth, in its government, its science, art, literature, and in a number of other ways Japan has become completely free and independent, and would scorn to-day any suggestion of

dependence upon foreign nations or institutions for any phase of its development. The Church is the one exception. More than half the bishops of the Nippon Sei Ko Kwai are paid entirely from foreign sources. Large grants are made from Europe and America to subsidize the Church, and most missionary institutions, such as theological training colleges, hospitals, and secondary mission schools, could not continue their existence without these foreign subsidies. One wonders what would have happened if the early Japanese Christians had shaped missionary policy, and if they had had to rely upon the resources of their own country for church development. There is little doubt that institutions now expensive would have been much simpler. The work might have been slower at the beginning, but are we not justified in believing that in the long run the Japanese Church would have grown more rapidly had it developed on really indigenous lines?

A curious sidelight is thrown on this problem, particularly in the Far East, where growing numbers of Christians, young men and women, refuse to be identified in any way with the Church. They are unattached communities, many of them full of earnestness for evangelism, many imbued with a strong urge to Christian social service, but they will not join any Church. Mr. Merle Davis says:—

Some of the strongest potential Christian leaders of Asia have been alienated from the Church by disregard of these inner motivations. Uchimura Kanzo, a brilliant, mission-trained student and preacher of Japan, early in his career cut loose from relations with the mission-assisted Church and launched out

upon an independent religious career. Endowed with Samurai heritage and lofty mental and spiritual gifts, Uchimura soon attracted to himself a circle of people of ability and influence which became the nucleus of an independent Christian church in the capital of Japan. A fiery orator and patriot, he used his gifts in bringing a saving knowledge of Christ to many well-placed Japanese in business and official circles. His work attracted the attention of high Court officials, and during the last years of his life he was occasionally called to the Imperial Palace to explain the Bible to members of the Imperial household. Added to his personal power was his ability to present Christianity as a Japanese faith, untouched by the suspicion of missionary influence or money. There are large numbers of the finest nationals in every Asiatic country who will follow an Uchimura Kanzo but who will not open their hearts to a Christian worker supported by foreign influence and money. Among Uchimura's bitter criticisms of missionaries was the stricture that they did not understand the Japanese and that they imparted an alien type of Christianity, which was weak in its appeal to the Japanese heart."¹

Similar instances could be found in most Asiatic countries. They are illustrations of Christian witness that refuses to be tied to church methods and seeks a wider atmosphere of freedom and liberty than is accorded to them within the Church.

With this fact of a growing Christian community outside the organized Churches, let us remind ourselves

¹ *The Economic and Social Environment of the Young Churches*, pp. 51, 52.

of another fact. A study of the work of Missions in the first half of the nineteenth century shows that the early leadership in Asia and Africa came from people of position and culture. In Japan the first converts were the Samurai, in China the literati, and in India the Brahmans. The early converts from these grades of society were found among the early evangelists, teachers, and pastors who have left their mark upon the Churches to this day. But at a comparatively early date this stream of leaders ceased, and the converts in more recent years have been on the whole from among the poorer people. What caused this flow of converts to cease? In the first place, they lost their employment through their adherence to the Christian faith. The ordinary channels of occupation were closed to them. They had been lifted from the security of their social environment into a new and foreign world. There was no Church in being in those days to give them a new social centre—a Church that could supply, in friendliness and a home atmosphere what they had lost through their conversion, so the Mission was compelled to provide financially for converts who, by becoming Christians, had lost everything, and paid posts were therefore found for them. Thus almost from the beginning of the modern missionary movement converts were engaged as paid agents by the missionary for clerical, educational, or other activities of the Mission. It is pathetic to notice that men so employed often lost their natural gifts of national leadership. Many rendered great service, but they had to conform to a type, and the experience of what happened to them caused others to hold back, and very few such converts were recorded in subsequent decades.

In pagan Africa the Christian community is almost

entirely rural. The Church has grown up largely on a self-supporting basis, and in Nigeria, Uganda, and other parts of the continent the Churches pay for the entire cost of their clergy, they support some thousands of village teachers and schools, and they raise large sums of money for the extension of the work. To give only a few examples: the Church in the diocese of Lagos raised in 1938 from its members £62,285;¹ the Niger diocese £62,522; Kenya, £5176. The total C.M.S. grant to these areas for all purposes was £30,536.

It is comparatively easy to survey the financial position of Churches, but it is extremely difficult to discover a policy that will secure to the Church its expanding power and message. The present position is not simply one of policy but of necessity. The funds previously given to missionary societies for church support overseas are no longer available on the same scale. This is the hard fact of the present situation, and the question is whether we are to interpret this as loss and disaster or whether we can see in it an indication from God that the financial policy of Missions should be reviewed and reconstructed.

A further question arises. Can we gather from the experience of the Churches that have attained a large measure of self-support, the principles which have contributed to their success? One governing factor is the numerical strength of the Christian community. In areas where the Churches are strong in numbers, self-support spread over many contributors is comparatively easy. But this only throws us back to the earlier question: What is it that has made the Church in these areas numerically strong? In other words, finance cannot be

¹ This figure applies only to the southern part of the diocese, known in C.M.S. circles as the Yoruba Mission.

separated from the spiritual life and growth of a Church. Much harm has been done in some Missions by an over-emphasis on self-support; Churches which have been urged to put all their energies into raising the quota for their needs have been diverted from their real task, and Christian witness has been lost to sight in the eager desire to raise money.

This may sound contradictory, but it is not so. Because they have had money at their disposal, missionaries have subsidized the Church and have employed lay agents to do evangelistic work. Thus the Church has received its subsidies and has left the work of witness to the paid evangelists. If the Church has been summoned to find its own support, it has turned in upon itself and become a self-centred community, thinking only of its own needs and forgetting the world at its doors waiting for the Gospel. When inquiry has been made in such Churches about their evangelistic work, the answer has been that they cannot do more for lack of funds. Thus witness has been made a question of finance, and the principles of church growth have been left out of consideration. However important it may be to help a Church to support itself, it must be remembered that this is a secondary stage in growth, the primary stage is witness. To ask a Church to support itself before it has been taught to expand by its own voluntary witness, before its worship has led to sacrificial giving is to invert the apostolic order of things. The fact is that the spiritual life of the Church is the one supremely important factor. If this is absent, no man-made plans, schemes, or resolutions for self-support will be fruitful.

There is thus a vital connexion between finance and witness. We may ruin the spiritual power of a Church by

giving it money to pay special lay agents to do what every member ought to be doing. The emphasis in the previous chapter on voluntary evangelism should be noted here. A Church called upon to raise its own support need not cease for one moment to be evangelistic if, as a Church, it is prepared to fulfil its responsibility in witness. An illustration of this comes from Sumatra, where seventy years ago the German Rhenish Mission began work. From the very first the Church was built upon a self-supporting basis so that expenditure should always bear a close relation to the economic conditions of its members. There are some very striking similarities in the principles adopted in Sumatra to those obtaining in the Dornakal Diocese in South India. In the seventy years since the founding of the Mission in Sumatra, over 1000 churches, with a membership of 400,000, have been established. Large mass movements have taken place through which whole villages and districts have sought baptism. Rapid growth compelled the Church to devise a system of leadership which would secure the adequate preparation of converts for baptism and at the same time avoid the spending of money beyond the available resources. The present staff of the Church is sixty-five ordained pastors, 1300 teacher-preachers, and 7500 lay presbyters. The pastors and the teacher-preachers are paid workers, but the lay presbyters are all voluntary helpers. They undertake to be responsible for twenty-five families each. They visit the sick and carry out general pastoral duties so that it is mainly through them that the Church expands and, at the same time, secures good preparation for candidates for baptism.

It is quite clear that had this Church depended on paid evangelists and foreign support, it would quickly

have reached a stage when further funds were not available from the home base and when further expansion of the Church would have ceased *for lack of funds*. This tragedy, not unknown in some mission fields, has been averted in Sumatra because of the lay leadership in the Church.

A similar movement has been developing for years in Korea where there is a rapidly-growing and self-supporting Church. The lesson this Korean Church has to teach is not unlike that of Sumatra, but let us inquire to what the Church itself would ascribe its success. Here is a study not merely in lay leadership and voluntary service but in the steady, intensive training of lay people to be leaders. The Koreans attribute the growth to the work of their Bible-training classes and institutes in which large numbers of lay men and women have been trained in evangelism. The organization is simple but thorough. In every church of this denomination (Presbyterian) in the country, there are Bible classes. There are also Bible schools attended by large numbers of potential leaders who spend two weeks in intensive training and are expected to return regularly for refresher courses. The apex of this work, however, is what are called "Bible Institutes." Here the men take a course of study lasting six weeks each year, and the women a course for two weeks. Every missionary and pastor in the Church takes some share in this training though a large part of it is done by voluntary workers. A significant feature of it and one that touches the problem of finance is that the entire cost of this far-reaching scheme of training is met by the people who attend the classes and by the churches they represent. What we want to emphasize is that such a plan is not held up until a home

board raises grants to finance it, for it does not look for foreign support. Each person enrolling as a member of the six weeks or other course of study pays his own expenses both of travelling and at the institute.

Herein therefore lies one of the main tasks of the missionary, namely, to see that the young Churches come into their own, to help them to a healthy spiritual fitness for their great work, to join in training a true native lay leadership, to centre all the activities of the Church in worship from which will come a new unity, fellowship, and partnership. We are at the present time in a stage of transition. With or without a great war and its resultant economic crisis, we should have come to this same position, and we must face it not as a disaster but as the voice of God summoning us to prepare the way of the Lord. Transition for both Missions and young Churches means that we must work from a mission-controlled and subsidized Church to one freed from western control. A Church expands, progresses, and increases by its own inherent spiritual life, and by the witness of all its members.

We have seen how this can be served by concerted and regular instructors graded to meet all types in the Church. Let us see another expression of witness through voluntary service. Again I stress partnership, the partnership one finds between British and Indian, between Anglican, Jacobites, and members of the Mar Thoma Church at Alwaye College in Travancore.

A group of keen young Indians, all of whom could easily have obtained highly-paid appointments, renounced these attractions and established a college. It was a great venture of faith entirely under Indian management and leadership, and the leaders set before

themselves high ideals in their aim to serve the Church. From the college there has gone a stream of men who have caught the spirit of sacrifice coupled to adventure. In 1927 four young men founded a settlement near the college. Their object was to spread the Gospel among the depressed outcastes, to break down all caste barriers, to direct the attention of educated men, particularly those of college staffs, to the village problems of India. In all and through all there ran a strong evangelistic note so that the settlement should continually express the message of the Gospel. The result has been that this urge to service has led to the founding of schools for the depressed children, a residential school for outcaste girls, a centre of rural reconstruction, a night school, and a co-operative society. In addition to these activities, land colonies affiliated to the settlement are being started in Travancore. How is it all done? Such schemes initiated by the foreign missionary according to foreign standards would cost a vast sum of money, but on Indian lines they flourish because those who run them are pledged to simple living and to the life service of the depressed.

A third example of work on the ashram principle is at Bethel in Travancore, to which we have already alluded.¹ In this case a C.M.S. woman missionary took the initiative and rapidly attracted Indian fellow-workers round her. There are now about sixteen resident members of the ashram, which is situated in the heart of the country. A school for village children is conducted, not on ordinary boarding-school lines, but as seven families housed in seven cottages. Most of the pupils are outcastes. Another activity is a Bible-training school, to which women come for special courses of instruction for

¹ Ch. VI, p. 205.

three weeks or a month in order to equip themselves for Christian service in their villages. They are trained for voluntary service and thus prepare for their share in the Church's witness. Most of the women are married and bring their children with them. A crèche has been opened to relieve mothers of the care of the children while they are studying. The ashram is largely supported by women of the diocese, but its many activities are made possible by the staff whose simple way of life can be maintained for a few rupees a month. Every year there is a record of numerous baptisms, for the evangelistic purpose is central to the aim of the ashram. Thus the main features of the institution are that it is Indian in character, it is a fellowship in which all live together and share alike, and that every member has made some sacrifice to join the fellowship. Several branch ashrams have been started, and the work exercises a far-reaching influence.

What has this to do with self-support? As St. Paul would put it: "Much every way." It is clear that the very phrase self-support is misleading, for no Church, however strong or rich, can ever be self-sufficient. The young Churches need the contribution of the Churches in other lands, and these in their turn need the contribution which the young Churches have to give. We try to visualize the policy under which the latter shall be saved from westernization, from the mania of organization, and from the sterility which overtook the Churches of an earlier age. We in the West can never, in any circumstances, abandon the Churches which have, through our instrumentality, been called into being. Self-support may be interpreted to mean an abandoning of our friends in Africa and the East to their fate. No,

we shall at all times need to foster mutual aid, mutual encouragement, and mutual inspiration between the Churches of the West, the old "home base" as it used to be called, and the younger Churches which are, in fact, the new home base for the further extension of the Kingdom of God.

What we can no longer be pledged to do is to maintain at the old level the grants given to subsidize the work overseas. We cannot necessarily be tied to the nineteenth century either in its financial or any other aspects of its policy for the development and growth of the younger Churches. Missions in former days forged ahead with or without the young Church. The evangelistic drive and impetus came from the foreigner, as we have already noted, backed up by the resources of the West. To-day we can no longer help in this way. We can only advance in evangelism as partners with the young Churches, and whatever resources we have must be shared with those Churches.

Evangelistic work in the future will go forward more strongly than ever, and the Church will grow more rapidly than before because it will expand under the direction of the indigenous Churches and through their leadership and initiative. Even if missionaries become less numerous, there will be compensation in the growing service of the Church itself, and should grants become smaller and be allocated differently from heretofore, they will not be used any longer to direct the policy of the Church we seek to serve. For example, let us imagine a Church in India or Africa reporting on some large-scale evangelistic opportunity. It would not be our wish under a readjusted financial policy to say we cannot assist, but rather to discuss what use could be made of

special help for a period of years, as a grant-in-aid and in no sense as an endowment of new work. The Church would then lay its plans according to its own resources for advance. It would have in its budget a grant from a missionary society for a limited period to help an enterprise in its initial stages. At the end of that period the grant would be available for some other country or area in similar circumstances, but under this plan no grants for church work would be permanent.

Here we shall no doubt be asked about institutional work. And on this question I return to my basic proposition that Church and Mission should review the institutions, educational and medical, in the light of the agreed central policy of building a strong, witnessing Church, and that together they should decide how the available resources from the West could be used to best advantage. If a school or college is being subsidized to the extent of say £1000 a year from a missionary society, the partnership plan would test whether this particular institution was the best object for the expenditure of that sum of money. The Churches in the West can make a constructive and valuable contribution by planning a long-range policy of education. But this does not necessarily mean that these funds should be absorbed in educating the non-Christian youth of an eastern land. Resources must be kept fluid to enable the Church to be educated in worship, spiritual life, and character, in witness and evangelism. A readjustment of existing institutions would seem to be imperative if the Church is to go forward. In much of the educational work foreign societies will probably have to make themselves responsible for many years to come, but in accepting this they will require to be assured that schools and colleges are not

starved spiritually but are dynamic and creative, feeding the Church with a continuous leadership, and through the influence of school and college days creating in the minds of young men and women the desire to serve the Church. It is not sufficient that colleges instil patriotism into youth, or that they create in them a desire to serve their country and their people, however desirable these ends may be. The Church is the central factor, and every educational institution must be so planned as to serve primarily the best interests of the Church.

Similarly in medical service a hospital has an integral relationship to the Church. As we have seen it creates in the community the will to serve. It exemplifies the Gospel as a redemptive power for the whole life of man in the entire range of his being: spirit, soul, and body. It illustrates the new value to human life and therefore it becomes an essential element in Church building. But in the case of the medical service as in education it is no longer necessary to keep the leadership of institutions in the hands of European missionaries, and encouragement should be given to nationals to assume the lead in institutional work.

This chapter would be incomplete without a reference to the duty of Christian giving. Self-support may be a word coined by missionaries, but it is not a device of the foreigner to teach the younger Churches to give more than the missionary societies may give less. Behind the policy of self-support there are principles which affect the whole spiritual vitality of a Christian community. From the missionary point of view money must always be used for strategic planning, and to use mission funds to support a young Church where the burden ought to be carried in whole or part by that Church is not to render

any service to it, because such a method of finance means that the Church loses its self-respect, its dignity, and independence of thought and action, and tends to be increasingly subservient to the wishes of the man or organization who provides the funds. This danger can be averted to a large extent where money from abroad is essential, but not where it is controlled and administered by a foreign missionary. Thus in some countries a dual machinery has come into operation. Pastors and some teachers are paid for by the church funds and are under church control, but often other parts of the work, schools and similar institutions, are paid for by the Mission and are therefore controlled by the Mission. It is tragic that because funds come from abroad they should be administered by foreigners, thus giving a further foreign emphasis to a work that should be increasingly indigenous. If we can regard the Church as universal, and any contributions from one branch to another as help rendered within the family, we shall get rid of the words "foreign support" and lift the whole subject on to a higher spiritual level.

Christian giving, whether by English people to an Indian Church or however given, is an evidence of God's grace, and the linking of this grace of giving to the word "self" in self-support lowers the ideal before us. No one to-day would argue that the transfer of responsibility to the younger Churches should be in proportion to their self-support. The old slogan: "He who pays the piper calls the tune," is forgotten and abandoned in most Missions. It is obviously far more important to see the Church grow than to insist upon its self-support. But a Church that does not try to support itself is in danger of becoming a mere parasite, and to continue to give

such a Church funds from abroad may be a real danger to its future because the whole structure of its life may collapse if funds are ever withdrawn.

It is sometimes argued that there is no money left for evangelism if a Church concentrates on self-support. But such an argument is based upon the fallacy that evangelism is a matter of payment. The most flourishing Churches are those that are working steadily towards self-support, every member making some contribution and where all contributing members are knit together in voluntary evangelism. It is in this way that the members of a young Church learn the principles of giving, and thus come to regard the weekly offerings as a grace in which they are to abound.

The Madras Conference Report says:—

The financial support of the Church and its missionary programme should be taught as a necessary part, but only a part, of the obligation in evangelism.¹

It is in emphasis of this principle that the same Report says: “The support of the Church must be rooted in its spiritual life.”²

Let me close this chapter by quoting Bishop Azariah. Writing on this subject in the *International Review of Missions* for July, 1938, he said:—

The younger Churches ought to be stimulated to a healthy spirit of love for their own Church. The attitude of the missionary founders of the Churches ought to be: “This is your country and your Church; it is your privilege to support it, to govern it and to

¹ *The World Mission of the Church*, p. 62.

² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

extend it; what help do you want from us in carrying out this programme?" Any release of outside money in one part of the world ought to mean the extension of the work of the Church in another part of the world. Growth of a young Church in bearing its own burdens would thus mean its fellowship with the mother Church in the furtherance of the Gospel throughout the world.

To these wise words we say, "Amen."

CHAPTER IX
THE CHURCH UNIVERSAL

SYNOPSIS

I

Within the last 200 years the Church has become œcumenical. Meaning of the term. Significance of the International Missionary Council—Edinburgh, 1910—Jerusalem, 1928—Tambaram, 1938—progressive development. Tambaram may prove to be the “Great Divide” in missionary history.

II

Illustrations from younger Churches—Japan—China—India—South Seas—Africa. Do the young Churches exhibit apostolic Christianity? Distinctive contributions: self-propagation, adaptation to divers races and cultures (witness Kagawa), developing community life within the Church, appreciation of the significance of the “Kingdom,” absolute and unbounded allegiance to Jesus Christ as Lord of all.

CHAPTER IX

WE HAVE SEEN in these studies that the missionary purpose has its roots in the Incarnation and that from the point of view of the Church the expansion of Christianity cannot be accounted for on merely human grounds. Christians have always recognized the divine origin of the Church, the Body of Christ, God's instrument for the redemption of the world; and the missionary movements we have reviewed reveal the fact that they too are due to a divine initiative, to the Holy Spirit working in individual Christians and in the Church corporate. These studies have shown us also how in the past hundred years the Christian faith has spread across all continents until in nearly every land to-day the Church in one of its branches has been established.

I

We note first of all certain amazing facts. Christianity less than 200 years ago was localized in certain areas of the world; it was national in its expression and lacking any real œcumenical character. If by œcumenical we mean simply the surface occupation of parts of the globe, the Christian Church could have established a partial claim, but only very partial. Now to-day we awaken to the fact that in almost every country in the world the Church of God is not only in being but is witnessing and expanding through an effective service

that grows in content with the passing of the years. In other words, œcumenical Christianity has come to have a new, a practical, and a more real meaning through the modern missionary movement. It is a curious paradox that at a time when the Church appears to be most divided, it is expanding more rapidly than ever before and, what is still more striking, it is becoming really œcumenical in the sense that Christianity is at last a world faith. And in facing these facts we note that we owe it to foreign Missions that the Church has become universal.

We said at the outset that this missionary enterprise was due, not only to the zeal of Christian people but to a divine initiative, and if this be true it must mean too that when God entrusted this world mission of Christianity to a divided Church there was in His will and plan a way of unity. We may legitimately ask therefore what we have learnt of fellowship and unity with one another as we have sought to fulfil God's purpose.

The Patriarch of Constantinople, by assuming the title of Œcumenical Patriarch, revealed a world-wide ambition for his Church, but while Latin Popes and Greek Patriarchs strove against each other for supremacy, claiming and counterclaiming world influence, both were neglecting the one thing that would make them œcumenical, namely, the sacrificial service of world evangelization. Through long centuries the Church had slowly to learn the lesson that out of the heart of the Church, from humble lay men and women, in ordinary vocations of life, would come the movement that would once more make the Church truly universal. Let us ponder this lesson: Lecky speaks of French literature as being of an "expansive and œcumenical

genius" because it is "generous of foreign ideas."¹ Here Lecky gives the real significance of this rich, old ecclesiastical word. "Generous of foreign ideas," and what a grand thought it is that French literature has been universal in character because it enriched itself by a real appreciation of what other people have to give. If we apply this to the Missions of the nineteenth century, we find work beginning amid the clash of Calvinism and Arminianism. We see it grow but still kept asunder by a cleavage between Anglicans and others that at times seemed likely to be permanent. Yet the century was marked by a growing appreciation of other people's ideas, out of which has come a new era in co-operation among all the leading Churches and missionary organizations.

After centuries when this old word had been almost forgotten, it is now coming into its own again and is frequently used in international religious gatherings. We read of the œcumenical Popes, Patriarchs, and Bishops of the old days, and even of œcumenical orthodoxy, but the word was not then used with the connotation we give it to-day as meaning the Church universal with a world mission. The Conference at Oxford, July, 1937, on Church, Community, and State, said: "A special ground of faith and courage amid the perplexities of our age is that the Christian Church is becoming truly œcumenical. The missionary movement of the past century carried forward the sense of world mission inherent in the Biblical records, making the bounds of the Christian community co-extensive with the habitable globe."² These Churches, as we see them growing in most lands to-day, are œcumenical in so far

¹ *European Morals*, vol. i, p. 160.

² Report, p. 168.

as they attempt to realize the fellowship of Christians who acknowledge the one Lord. Our content of the word grows. We interpret it to include:—

- (1) A world-wide fellowship of all Christians.
- (2) Separated Churches, each with a due appreciation of the value of the work of others.
- (3) Churches divided, yet realizing in their common spiritual experience a unity of the spirit that makes united action possible.
- (4) Churches that are struggling to realize human brotherhood in a world where disruptive nationalism and aggressive imperialism make such brotherhood seem unreal.
- (5) Churches that are more concerned about unity than about divisions.

If this is the connotation we give to the word “œcumenical,” what then have Missions to show as a contribution to this great ideal? I can illustrate this best by describing the meetings of the International Missionary Council held at Tambaram, Madras, in December, 1938. The International Missionary Council is an organization which federates within its fellowship about thirty National Christian Councils. Each of these in turn draws into fellowship the Christian forces of a country or an area. The National Christian Councils of India and China make possible co-operation in Christian service among all the leading Churches of those countries except the Roman Catholic which by its own wish remains outside: Anglicans, Free Churches, and others are united in a common service. This co-operation is the result of a long, slow growth. It has come out of a

century's work in many lands, and it has united in a wonderful way the varied interests of many Churches.

The desire for co-operation found visible expression in the Edinburgh Conference of 1910, when about 1500 delegates assembled from many parts of the world. Most of them, however, were members of the sending Churches and the younger Churches were scarcely represented at all. "Edinburgh, 1910," marked a first stage, when missionary organization began to co-operate in a more definite and concrete manner than ever before. A second stage was reached when the Jerusalem Conference of 1928 was held. Here, over thirty per cent of the delegates were nationals from the younger Churches. Progress had certainly been made in the intervening years, and at Jerusalem the younger Churches took their place alongside the older Churches on a basis of complete equality. A third stage has now been reached in the Conference at Tambaram when, of the elected delegates, the nationals from the younger Churches were in a clear majority.

At Tambaram we saw the culmination of a movement which had its inception in the Evangelical Revival in England in the eighteenth century. No one then could have foreseen that through this missionary movement the Church of God would become to so great an extent universal. To Tambaram there came delegates from over seventy different countries. The sending Churches and the receiving Churches, the older Churches and the younger Churches tried to forget, for the time being at any rate, whether they were giving or receiving, older or younger, and to catch afresh the vision of this one uniting, world-wide Church of God. Here was a symbol of œcumenical Christianity, the fruits of toil and labour

that had been truly sacrificial and very costly. But Tambaram represented as no other gathering in modern times has done, the Church of God, alive, vibrant, and progressive. That such a conference was even possible speaks volumes in testimony to the value and permanence of the work of foreign Missions. That the Conference could be held at all in a world of such perplexity and fear is surely in itself a miracle and more than a miracle. It is an indication of a greater and still unfolding purpose of God for Missions and Churches. God has led us through these years to this day and in a real sense the past century has been but a preparation for a new age in Christian life and witness. Until the Church came into being on a world scale, there could be no serious acceptance by the Christian forces of the challenge of the world. Tambaram may yet prove to be the "Great Divide" in missionary history.

The Madras Conference brought to the Church a great vision of this task in a new age. The Report (p. 19) says: "Recognizing that Christ came to open to all the way to life abundant but that the way is blocked by poverty, war, racial hatred, exploitation, and cruel injustice, the Church is called to attack social evils at their roots. It must seek to open the eyes of its members to their implications in un-Christian practices. Those who suffer from bitter wrong it is constrained to succour and console, while it strives courageously and persistently for the creation of a more just society."

This summons to the Church means that it must become "in itself the actualization among men of its own message. No one so fully knows the failings, the pettiness, the faithlessness which infect the Church's life as we who are its members. Yet in all humility and

penitence we are constrained to declare to a baffled and needy world that the Christian Church, under God, is its greatest hope."

II

Let us look at this gathering a little more closely, keeping in mind the story that these chapters have unfolded of a missionary enterprise that was begun in an unpropitious period, in the face of a critical Church and a hostile world. In Chapter IV we spoke of the closed doors during the first half of the nineteenth century. At Tambaram there was a strong contingent of Japanese delegates, though Japan as a mission field was completely closed to the Gospel until 1859. Before that year the death penalty was imposed upon all who professed the Christian faith, yet at this Conference in 1938 there were Japanese Christians, delegates from Japanese Churches, representing a Christian force, excluding the Roman Catholics, of 200,000. The total Christian church membership in Japan is 318,000.

Similarly, and on a still larger scale, there came to Tambaram delegates from the Chinese Churches representing a non-Roman community of 618,000. The total Christian strength in China is 3,500,000.

But wonderful as this is, its real significance lies in the fact that Christian fellowship in the Far East is so strong that at a time when Japan and China were at war and when China was suffering untold miseries and horrors, it was possible for Christian delegates from both countries to meet on terms of genuine fellowship which rose superior to the hatreds and bitterness of war. This is something that can only be achieved when the Church

is operating in power and grace upon the lives of men and countries. Is it too extravagant a claim, if such a unity and accord is possible between groups of Christians from countries at war, that in the missionary enterprise and through the Church becoming increasingly universal, we have God's answer to man's quest for peace and goodwill?

A leading Hindu paper in India recognized this truth. On Christmas Day, while the Conference was still in session, it produced a full account of the meetings at Tambaram and in the centre page printed the well-known picture of "Christ of the Andes" with the words underneath: "This statue stands at the summit of a pass in the Andes Mountains on the border line between Argentina and Chile. It was erected in 1904 to commemorate the settlement of a bitter boundary dispute between the two countries, which had threatened to result in a ruinous war. The inscription on the pedestal reads: 'Sooner shall these mountains crumble into dust than shall Argentines and Chileans break the peace which they have sworn at the feet of Christ the Redeemer.' "

A Hindu paper saw the significance of the Incarnation in relation to world peace and Tambaram gave reality to the ideal.

To the Conference there came a delegate from the South Seas, witnessing to the power of Christ to change lives and environment. He came from a people once cannibal and to-day Christian.

Less than seventy years ago Central Africa was unexplored and Uganda an unknown land. The people were slave-ridden and decimated by disease and tribal wars. From this same area there came delegates, representing the Church of Uganda. Only sixty-one years

ago was the Gospel heard in Uganda for the first time; to-day the Church is self-supporting, witnessing, and growing. It is conscious of its place in the Church Universal and sends its sons to the gatherings at Tambaram. Lands only explored in 1875 are the centre of a far-reaching indigenous Christian movement.

This illustration could be multiplied, for delegates came also from South Africa, the Belgian Congo, French West Africa, the Gold Coast, Kenya, Madagascar, Nyassaland, and other parts of Africa. Contingents were present from Iran and Iraq, Syria and Palestine, Egypt and Turkey, the Dutch East Indies and the British West Indies. They came from all parts of the world, a great company of warm-hearted Christian men and women, called out from many races, speaking divers tongues, yet all united in one great fellowship of the Spirit, moved by one central purpose, representative of new spiritual and moral forces operating on a world-wide scale for the salvation of the human race.

What we have witnessed so far is the fact that this universal Church, owing in many areas its very existence to the voluntary and sustained giving by Christian people of the West, has come into a place of service in many lands where less than a hundred years ago the name of Christ had never even been heard.

The Conference brought to light what has been noted in previous chapters in this book, that if we can trace the origin of Missions to the work of the Holy Spirit, we can, in no less degree, see the work of the Holy Spirit in these Churches to-day. The Christian faith is indeed expanding and growing as is no other religion in the world, and millions of people from other faiths look to Christ as their ideal and hope. The Christian's Saviour

and Lord is steadily capturing the hearts and minds of people in Asia and Africa. It is true therefore to say that, in spite of the losses the Church has sustained in Russia and other lands through communism and totalitarianism and other causes, it is still advancing, gaining ground, and fearlessly facing its unfinished task.

We must pause here to ask a very important question. Do these younger Churches show the marks of true apostolic Christianity? Can it be said that they understand in any adequate way the full content of the Gospel? For the past it can be said that just as our Lord went throughout Galilee from village to village announcing in His own person the message of God to man, so from Pentecost onward the Holy Spirit has moved and is moving among all races carrying God's word to man, until all things shall have been brought into subjection to Christ. Church history has made this plain in older generations, but what we are in danger of failing to see is that a new page of church history is being written, more significant perhaps than that of any previous age. This page of history, like some of those in the past, speaks clearly and unmistakably of a Christianity rooted definitely in the Church. One of the reports at Tambaram said: "The Church is and remains the fellowship to which our Lord has given His promises and through which He carries forward His purpose for mankind; and since this fellowship is not merely invisible and ideal, but real and concrete, taking a definite form in history, it is the duty of all disciples of Christ to take their place in a given Christian Church, that is one of those concrete bodies in which and through which the universal Church of Christ, the world-wide company of His followers, is seeking to find expression."

This is further emphasized in another paragraph of the same report: "It is the Church and the Church alone which can carry the responsibility of transmitting the Gospel from one generation to another, of preserving its purity and of proclaiming it to all creatures." This point has been brought out all through this book, but the Conference helped us to see not only a world-wide Church but the Churches in many lands and of many races bringing their distinctive contributions to the City of God.

In the early days of Christianity, there developed a Greek Christianity followed later by a Latin Christianity, and later again by other forms which reflected the cultural and national backgrounds of the people forming the Church. In these days a similar movement can be detected. We saw in a measure at the Conference African Christianity, Chinese Christianity, Indian and Japanese and other indigenous expressions of the Christian religion taking shape. But Christianity in early days was never content merely to assimilate itself to the national life of its members. It sought, as we saw earlier,¹ to purify the national life through the new life it expressed in Jesus Christ. And this can be said with equal truth of the young Churches that were represented at Tambaram. There could be no mistaking the fact that their faith was rooted in the New Testament, in the great historic truths of the faith. They one and all accepted the primary responsibility as ambassadors of Christ to proclaim the Gospel of the grace of God. They revealed a social content in their message that gave them the insistent appeal for education, and for medical and other social services. It was quite clear that they could

¹ Pp. 216-18.

never detach themselves from their nations nor could they separate their religions from the physical, moral, and spiritual needs of their people.

Distinctive national contributions to the Church were seen in the service of Dr. Kagawa in Japan. He was the unwanted and illegitimate child of a dissolute government official and a dancing girl, brought up in an atmosphere that was loveless and sensual, with every kind of temptation thrown across his path. As a youth he was led to Christ by an American missionary, and this boy from a loveless home became an apostle of love to his race. The impurities of his early home but deepened in him as a Christian his blazing passion for purity. His surrender to Christ crucified for him made him brother to all "for whom Christ died," and he gave his life to slum work and to the uplifting of the poor and down-trodden. So effectively did he expose slum conditions in the great Japanese cities that his Government spent over a million pounds on slum clearance. If such a man as Mussolini symbolizes the spirit of new Italy, how much more true is it that men like Kagawa symbolize the spirit of the younger Churches in their endeavour to interpret their faith in national service.

Distinctive contributions of these younger Churches are appearing and eventually they will have a great deal to teach us. If we followed their lead to-day, we should place far less importance upon the things that divide us as Churches and should concentrate upon the things that unite. We should place much more emphasis than we do upon the practical steps for securing world peace. We should develop a much more tender conscience about the slum areas of London and our great cities and about sweated labour returning into English

national life through the economic conditions of the times. These are a few of the emphases that come to us from younger Churches to-day. They are all true in a large measure of our own Churches in Europe and America, but it is worth noting that these are the things emphasized by young Churches. Many of the Churches in Asia and Africa have much to teach us about evangelism, for they depend for their witness almost entirely upon voluntary evangelistic work. What a transformation would come over England if we could adopt the slogan of some of these Churches, that every communicant must be a witness.

Another feature of Christianity which finds expression in Asia and Africa is the need for community life in the Church. In the West we are born individualists and our Churches develop with this individualism as the basis of most of their activities, but in the East we are reminded very forcibly of the social significance of Christianity. These Churches, while they see the Kingdom of God as beyond history, yet insist that it is within history. They are quite clear that the Kingdom of God cannot be identified with any particular political, social, or revolutionary system. The report presented to the Conference by the section on "The Church and the changing social and economic order" says: "If any of the present panaceas offered to man were realized, even in its pure form, it would not be the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom would still judge it, for the Kingdom is an ultimate order; all else is relative. . . . The Kingdom means both acceptance and action, a gift and a task; we work for it and we wait for it."¹ This was why so many from the younger Churches insisted upon our

¹ *The World Mission of the Church*, p. 126.

need of what they called "ethical sensitiveness." They demanded in fact that we and Christians everywhere should seek for a clearer understanding of the un-Christian realities of life to-day and they asked that, by an adequate presentation of the Gospel, the consciences of men should be stirred to action. It will, I think, be conceded that the content of the Gospel in these younger Churches is rich and full. What has given this content to evangelical preaching of the Gospel?

When missionaries sailed overseas a hundred years ago, their one ambition was to preach the Gospel to a dying world. In doing it they soon discovered that the Gospel carried with it implications of a far-reaching character in all directions. The Tambaram Conference showed how truly the younger Churches reflect the teaching of the early missionaries, and how they in turn are proclaiming a message that must in the end challenge evil in all its forms and indeed challenge everything that lifts itself up against God.

We saw how the missionary enterprise began in a personal faith in Christ and how men and women who had discovered an experience that made God real to them based the whole of life thereafter upon an absolute allegiance and loyalty to God through Jesus Christ. Nothing came out more strongly at Tambaram than the fact that Jesus Christ is Lord. His uniqueness and supremacy were emphasized again and again. On this it was clear that there could be no compromise. Nothing could take the place accorded to the Saviour of men. He is the final revelation of God. Neither class loyalty nor caste, neither national ideals nor State claims, neither new cults nor authoritarian leaders could take the place of Jesus Christ. He is Lord of all.

It will be seen therefore that, through the history of this age of Missions, we can trace the purpose of God for the world. But more searching for us who profess the Christian faith is the fact that we see too the purpose of God for His Church. "That they all may be one that the world may believe," was our Lord's prayer.

CHAPTER X

THE CHURCH THAT IS TO BE

SYNOPSIS

I

The Church as a fellowship. Its task. The present challenge. The summons to evangelism on a world scale. Illustrations: closed lands; a growing Church.

II

A divided Church permitted to evangelize the world. Universality without unity. The call from Madras, 1938. The cost of division. The call from Edinburgh, 1937. Barriers in the older Churches.

III

The meaning of evangelism. United planning essential. Immensity of the task. Christ the Lord of nations, not only of individuals. Necessity of corporate witness.

IV

Witness a product of worship. The strength of corporate worship. Experiments and elasticity needed. Training of workers.

V

The Church and the Kingdom. Relationship in the Kingdom. The vision before the Church.

CHAPTER X

THE SURVEY WE have made in the chapters of this book over a large part of the globe and over long periods of years, has revealed an encouraging phenomenon in the modern world as we know it. Sometimes when we are overwhelmed by the futility of things, the strength of opposing forces, the onward sweep of a material and secular civilization, and by the seeming ineffectiveness of the Church, we may be tempted to ask whether Christianity is after all really essential to life. The antidote to this pessimism lies in the discovery we have made of what God is actually doing in the world through His Church.

We began these studies by asserting that we could see the hand of God in the calling out of His servants from different lands for missionary service. We traced these efforts from minute beginnings to the founding of the Church of God in one country after another across the world. We examined this movement as it had affected the countries of India, Africa, and China. We then noted the fact that the Church Universal is in being to-day, that what had seemed but a dream a hundred years ago is a living experience in modern times. We then passed on to examine the traits and characteristics of this Church, the principles on which it had developed, the relations of Mission to Church, the witness of the Church in all these newly-occupied lands to the faith they had discovered, their economic position, and their capacity for self-support. We have carried the story

down to 1938 when the International Missionary Council met in Madras, and we have tried to catch from the delegates of the seventy countries represented the voice of the younger Churches. We have reached the conclusion that, even though divided, today the Church is more truly œcumenical than ever before in the history of Christianity. Our closing chapter therefore must be an attempt to see how the Church of God is reaching out into the future and seeking in ever new ways to fulfil the divine purpose of its existence and growth.

And let it be said at once that we can see no future for the Church except on the assumption that it is of divine origin, sustained by divine life, and fulfilling a divine purpose. The history of foreign Missions has demonstrated this afresh, and in fact has provided the Church with new evidence for the truth of Christianity in that it is proved now that the Gospel can meet the needs of all races, that it is the power of God for the transfiguration of humanity into the divine likeness. Nothing else accounts for the events as witnessed since the beginning of the nineteenth century in the spread of the Gospel over the world.

I

We see the Church, then, in a critical period of history as the fellowship of those whom God has called out of darkness into His light. Guided and empowered by the Holy Spirit the Church continues Christ's saving work in the world. It seeks to build up its members in the knowledge of Him and challenges them anew with the message of His redeeming love. For those who know not

Christ, the true Church seeks with the love of its Master to share with them all the riches of its experience. It goes forth to them with the Gospel of His grace. It practises His ministry of compassion and healing. It bears witness against iniquity and injustice. It carries their sorrows and sufferings in its prayers. To the Church is given the solemn privilege of entering into the fellowship of the sufferings of Christ. We take our stand therefore on the fact of the Church, newly commissioned in our day for fresh service for God. We can without fear ask what of the future? What is the task of the Church in the coming days?

We can only see that task against the background of the world in which the Church is called to live and to witness. The Church to-day is summoned to fulfil its mission in a world divided, suspicious, and living in a constant nightmare of war. The foundations of international life are shaken, old loyalties disappear, and standards of conduct cease to have any authority. The world's life is thrown into confusion and even disintegration.

It has been said that we live in an age of paradoxes, and it is certainly paradoxical that with all its divisions the world has never been so closely linked together. Communications and easy transport have brought all peoples near to each other. World congresses are held on every conceivable subject. Railways, commerce, banking, *etc.*, all function on an international scale.

Yet consider the things that divide the peoples of the world. Each nation erects barriers the one against the other. People live entrenched behind ramparts bristling with guns, and fear one of another makes mutual trust impossible. This is reflected in the political realm where

the international moral standards that were based to some extent upon a Christian ethic have been discarded, and each nation sets up its own standards, self-made to justify its actions. We have lost the moral basis of life whereby a man's word was his bond, until treaties and pacts are torn up at will and the world is strewn over with scraps of paper that once represented the honour of nations. In some countries a new nationalism emerges, dominating the entire life of a race. Personal, religious, social, and political life are all made to serve the ends of a State. Education is State-controlled and made the medium of racial propaganda. With all this, science has never before made so many brilliant discoveries, never before have the resources of the world been so fully harnessed to serve the needs of man. But the alarming thing is that moral progress is unable to keep pace with scientific knowledge, with the result that the very things intended by God for our good become in this world of hatreds and mistrust the instruments of fear and destruction. Aviation, which might help, by linking nation to nation, to draw races closer together becomes a terrible weapon of war. Forces of disruption break out of all control until man flounders on despairing, disillusioned, and fearful. Out of this situation there has come a series of attempts to solve the problem on a purely human basis. Communism offers a way of escape by its efforts through revolution to achieve a classless society on an international scale. Totalitarianism offers security on the basis of State supremacy and an absolute loyalty to one's country, right or wrong.

Dr. Kraemer says¹ so truly that: "Man, mastering and conquering life on the earth and in the air, does

¹ *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, p. 5.

not know how to master himself." The result of all this is a clash of serious magnitude between State and Church, between the old religious loyalties and the new nationalism, and Christianity is challenged by nations in all parts of the world to show what it has to offer as a solution in this state of unrest. In some cases Christianity is brushed aside as irrelevant to the times in which we live. In other cases, as in Russia, an attempt is made to blot out the Christian faith and to substitute for it a militant, godless materialism.

The Church is challenged. This is the central fact that all Christians must consider.

It is challenged by communism and its rule of force, because the Church believes that in Christ there is neither Greek nor Jew, bond nor free, but all are one in Christ Jesus.

It is challenged by totalitarianism and the deification of the State, because the Church gives ultimate and final loyalty to no cause national or other, but only to Jesus Christ the supreme Lord.

It is challenged by a material civilization in which man seeks to be self-sufficient, because the Church demands a spiritual basis to life centering in God and our dependence upon Him.

It is challenged by the selfishness of men and nations who make life cheap, because the Church places at the heart of all things the Cross of Christ and the new value He gave to human life when He died for us.

It is challenged by the breakdown of moral standards, because the Church seeks to establish the law and rule of Christ over all men.

The Church is challenged from every angle by highly-organized and powerful world forces that seek to make

it either subservient to the dictates of men or to suffer persecution and loss.

As we look out into the future we realize that from whatever quarter the difficulties come, the Church must accept these challenges. Fearlessly and in the faith of Christ crucified the Church must face a hostile world. It must not imitate the world's methods nor must it use its weapons. It is given to the Church not only to believe in Jesus Christ but also to suffer for His Name. "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus," said the great apostle, and these marks were his badge of office and the seal of his discipleship. We have reached a stage in the Church's history when the old, rather smug complacency of our national Church must disappear and when it must come out into the open in bold and fearless witness to the faith.

We are so obsessed by the visible and the material that we often fail to realize that the greatest power in the world is neither armaments nor big battalions but the silent, spiritual fellowship of the Church of God. We have witnessed in several countries in recent years that to which all history bears testimony, that the Christian spirit cannot be broken. Christians can suffer and die, but the Spirit of the living God Who united them in the fellowship of His Church is still at work in the world.

Our first great need throughout the Church to-day is to recapture that spiritual experience of the grace, love, and power of God that characterized the early Church. Apostolic Christianity was dynamic. It turned the world upside down because men dared to believe in God. To-day the forces that are seeking to destroy the Church have no regard for dogmas and creeds. Their whole energy is spent in seeking to break down the Christians'

faith in God. This is the invincible element; without it the Church loses its soul; with it nothing can overthrow the Church for it is founded on the Rock.

How, then, can the Church take up the challenge? First and foremost by accepting anew and unequivocally the divine commission to make disciples of all nations. The Church is summoned to a new and a larger evangelism on a world scale. The Church must either make its impact upon the secular world of to-day and win it for Christ, or the secular world will increasingly encroach upon the spiritual life and liberties of the Church, blunting its witness and dimming its vision. The Church of God in this situation, fraught with so much danger, dare not retreat. It cannot stand still. It must advance, but advance is only possible as the whole Church unites in a new fellowship of the Spirit to evangelize the world.

It is a significant fact that lands which were open to the Gospel are now closing. This is true of the Soviet Republic and its allied States, where no copies of the Scriptures are allowed to be sold. In 1938 all the missionaries in Turkestan were driven out and the work was closed down, the only reason being that it was Christian. Non-Roman missionary work in Abyssinia and the Italian African colonies has been greatly restricted. The position of Missions in Turkey is made so difficult that it is practically impossible to build up a Christian Church. To this must be added the fact that people in eastern lands are becoming secular in mind and outlook. We enter therefore upon a phase of Christian history where the Church must either go forward the world over in a vital and living witness to Christ or fail in its God-given task. The battle for Christianity is

being fought on a world front, and the Church is summoned to carry its message to all lands, and indeed into all realms of life, to make the fact known to all men that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself.

An illustration of what this means comes from Mengnanapuram in South India. In 1938 the church in this village celebrated its centenary. A hundred years ago a solitary missionary had built this large church at a time when there were only twelve converts in the whole district. At the centenary celebrations 20,000 Christians were present, and the church had found itself in its service for a needy community. In a letter addressed to the C.M.S. head-quarters the leaders of this congregation say:—

During the days of our centenary celebration, our church, spacious though it is, has had to be abandoned because it is far too small to accommodate the great company of our brethren in Christ who have come together to praise and bless God for the glorious achievements of the first century of this church's life, and to dedicate themselves to the high service of God in the second century which now begins.

Then there follows a statement with regard to the future:—

We ask you to pray that in these days *when we are a truly Indian Church*, taking upon ourselves the responsibility for the evangelization of our own people, we may be worthy of those who have gone before, and of the work which God has committed to our hands, so that as the second century unrolls

itself we may see even greater marvels than in the past.

Here are two facts which link together the past in missionary service and the future in the growing Church. They are first the fact that this Christian community is a truly Indian Church, and second, that it accepts responsibility for what was once the task of the missionary. These are the twin principles of church development and will form the background to what follows as we try to see the Church of the future.

II

A closer study of the situation in South India reveals other facts of startling import. The example of Mengnanapuram could be duplicated many times from other areas where a hundred years ago there were but a few converts and to-day they are numbered in thousands and tens of thousands, but although the Missions of the past century have succeeded in so remarkable a way, the converts have been brought into a divided Church, for some are Roman Catholics, some Anglicans, some Baptists or Methodists, while others are members of the ancient Syrian Church of St. Thomas. The fact is that we have not carried our Gospel to India with one voice but with many. When Carey, Henry Martyn, and others sailed for India there was no other way of making the Christian message effective except through the ministry of a divided Church. This is part of the price that Missions and younger Churches have had to pay in carrying out their task, but let it not be forgotten that it was imposed on these young Churches, whose members had no part nor lot in our historic controversies and no

responsibility for our sins. It was through a divided Church that the Gospel was transmitted. The alternative would have been to wait indefinitely before embarking on the missionary enterprise. Fortunately for the Church and the world, the founders of modern Missions took the risks and broke through the vicious circle by declaring, unity or no unity, the Gospel must be preached.

This question may be considered too from a higher standpoint, for the men who initiated Missions as we know them were undoubtedly led by the Spirit of God. We are faced therefore with this fact, that God, knowing that a divided Church would spring up all over the world, still thrust forth His servants to many lands in their witness to Him. Surely there is only one deduction to be drawn from this. God, Who called His servants to preach, Who foresaw the difficulties of a divided Church, knew that out of the missionary enterprise would come the urge to reunion and in fact the way to unity. If we accept this as true then it follows that the coming days in the Church overseas are momentous for the whole Church. The Madras Conference showed us, as we have already mentioned, that the Church Universal has emerged and is at work in all the world. But even so it is still a divided Church. A truly œcumenical Church is not only universal, it must also be united.

But although we have reached universality without unity, we realize that the implication of everything that has happened in recent years is a demand for a new adventure in unity. Whether it is the challenge of non-Christian forces, or the rise of anti-God movements, or the phenomenal success of Missions in many areas, or the tragedy of overlapping and competition, whatever

aspect of the situation we consider, everything demands of us that we not only talk about unity but that we achieve it. The younger Churches have been asking for unity for more than a generation, and they have been told that they must keep in step with the mother Churches. They have been amazingly patient and trustful, but they have waited because they believed that in the end we should share their aspirations. Now they are awakening to the fact that the majority of people in the Churches of the West are not interested in whether they unite or not. They realize now that they are being held back by reactionary forces within the Church because no one can be found with prophetic insight and courage to take the lead in bursting through the barriers of division into the unity for which Christ prayed. The younger Churches are restive because we talk about the "sin of our divisions" and never seem to repent.

In a great many parts of the world the question of Episcopacy is not a matter of controversy. The younger Churches of a Free Church type, not having our Historic background, are prepared to discuss with us plans for union on the basis of the acceptance of the historic Episcopate, but delay is dangerous, for these issues that separate us in the West are being transplanted eventually overseas. The way to unity is open now, but how long it will remain open no one can say. God seems to be allowing His Church to face grave perils from without and wonderful harvests within, in order to compel us to reconsider our position. It is as though He says to His people: If you unite you can accept every challenge and can reap every harvest, but only if you unite.

Listen to what the Madras Conference has to say, and

in listening may we remember that this is the voice of the younger Churches speaking to us:—

As we meet here, from over sixty nations out of every continent, we have discovered afresh that unity is not merely an aspiration but also a fact; our meeting is its concrete manifestation. We are one in faith; we are one in our task and commission as the Body of Christ; we are resolved to become more fully one in our life and work.¹

Such a declaration is called forth because Churches abroad have learned unity in co-operation and action in a way we have never learnt it in the home Churches. They co-operate more effectively in Asia and Africa than we do, and by working together these communities are acutely aware that these stages are but stepping stones to that larger, organic unity which can make them one.

The fact of the divided Church is felt in many lands to be a reproach. It is especially a stumbling block to those who live in a comparatively unified non-Christian community. But more serious are our frequent failures to show any deep underlying unity beyond our divisions, and our failure to speak with a united voice in condemnation of wrong—such as economic exploitation, social injustice, racial discrimination, and war.²

A special group at the Madras Conference composed only of representatives of the younger Churches issued a statement of their own on this subject. Part of it reads:—

During the discussion it became abundantly clear that the divisions of Christendom were seen in their

¹ *The World Mission of the Church*, p. 19.

² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

worst light in the mission field. Instances were cited by the representatives of the younger Churches of disgraceful competition, wasteful overlapping, and of groups and individuals turned away from the Church because of the divisions within. Disunion is both a stumbling block to the faithful and a mockery to those without. We confess with shame that we ourselves have often been the cause of thus bringing dishonour to the religion of our Master. The representatives of the younger Churches in this Section one and all gave expression to the passionate longing that exists in all countries for visible union of the Churches.¹

There can be no doubt whatever that for these young Christian communities visible and organic union is their goal. They are torn at present between two loyalties: the one to the mother Church from which they have sprung and the other to their ideal of unity. They have issued a searching appeal to "missionary societies and boards and the responsible authorities of the older Churches to take this matter seriously to heart, to labour with the Churches in the mission field to achieve this union, to support and encourage us in the path of union."²

Why are the younger Churches so insistent upon this subject? An illustration of the cost of our division was referred to by Bishop Azariah at the Edinburgh Conference on Faith and Order in 1937. A few years ago the Press printed full accounts of Dr. Ambedkar, the leader of the depressed classes in India, and of a movement he had initiated for the liberation of his community from the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

² *Ibid.*, p. 155.

serfdom of Hinduism. He was born an outcaste Hindu, he declared, but he would not die one, because Hinduism as he knew from the outcaste's point of view was a disease rather than a religion. At one time it looked as though the depressed classes in India would move in millions toward the Christian faith. A leader of these outcastes came to Bishop Azariah and told him that his people had decided to give up Hinduism and were considering what religion they should accept as likely to give them a fuller and higher life. When Christianity was mentioned, the Bishop said that he was reminded by this Indian leader of the many divisions within the Christian Church. He told the Bishop how his followers had said that "we are united in Hinduism, but we shall become divided in Christianity." "And sir," said he, "I had no answer to give them." "And," added the Bishop, "need I say I had no answer to give either."

This vivid illustration well serves to show the cost of our divisions. But what can we say to the spiritual movements that are almost encircling the globe, movements undoubtedly called forth by the Holy Spirit and yet movements that can never come to full fruition through a divided Church? Jesus Christ still, as always, is bidding for the allegiance of the human race. He attracts men to Himself and it is in this discordant and warring world that we must interpret Him as the centre and hope of world unity because ultimately it is "the purpose of His design so to order it in the fulness of the ages that all things in heaven and earth alike should be gathered up in Christ" (*Eph. i. 10*, Moffatt). It is for this very reason that the situation is now so tragic. The younger Churches have a record of amazing growth, of corporate witness, and of world-wide evangelism. In spite of divisions they

are advancing, but they realize that the task before them is beyond the capacity of a divided Church and that it demands a unity that will make common action possible. That is why the Edinburgh Conference on Faith and Order, 1937, said:—

It is necessary to approach the questions of the Church's faith and order and of the achievement of her unity with a sense of the tragic quality of the time and of the tremendous issues that await—or do not await—our word. It is not too much to say that a divided Church—divided as we are to-day—is totally unable to offer more than a caricature of the Gospel. We speak of unity, brotherhood, concord, and renewing power to those who are torn by caste division and colour prejudices or are speaking of class-war—but we cannot overcome our own rivalries.¹

It is from this standpoint of unity that we view the future task of the Church. Divine in its origin and purpose there is as great a need as ever for the Church in the world to-day, and moreover for a united Church. We stand on the threshold of a new era in missionary work for through a century of Missions we have learned anew the divine validity of the Church. This governs everything in our view of the future. The first step then is to discover how the younger Churches, still financially dependent upon missionary societies or other organizations, can be liberated from the fettering influence of dependence upon foreign support. For example, the South India Scheme for Church Union represents the thinking of Christians in India

¹ Report, p. 49.

for nearly twenty years. The stages of growth during that period have brought different bodies together in a spiritual bond of fellowship. But when the Scheme reaches this country its supporters in India find to their dismay that the Church in England, both Anglican and Free, is far behind the daughter Church in India in its thinking on this matter. The fact is that the Churches in mission lands are about a generation ahead of the home Church on this subject of unity. No union is possible in India or Africa as long as barriers are erected at home to its consummation. Because many in this country look with suspicion upon such schemes they are held up indefinitely.

The South India Union Scheme was inaugurated in 1919. As contemplated the united Church would include when completed Indian Churches founded by Missions from Great Britain, the U.S.A., and the continent of Europe under Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregationalist polities. This scheme has been said to have "taken the broadest range, the most original and daring form and the most definite detail. The attempt to unify the Church by way of a unified ministry has nowhere else been so concretely and circumstantially developed."¹ It is clear therefore that if the gap between the Anglicans and the Free Churches is to be bridged, it must be by some such plan as the South India Scheme has devised. It is clear too that once a bridge had been formed, nothing could prevent the extension of the unity movement until Churches in many parts of Asia and Africa found a new unity, and through it a new service for the Kingdom of God.

¹ Report, World Conference on Faith and Order, p. 54.

III

A united Church will give to the nations both a united and a world-wide witness to the Christian message. To win the world for Christ the Church must take itself seriously, and by the power of its planning and action compel the world to take it seriously too. Whatever may have been the achievements of the past our concern at this moment is with the future. How can we establish the fact, for example as St. Paul preached it, that "Jesus Christ is Lord"? It is because of that fact that the Church is universal and it is in the light of the same fact that we must see the place of the Christian message in this world of ours.

Evangelism must surely mean not only the personal winning of individuals, but consideration for everything that happens to those individuals after their conversion, including the environment in which they are to live, the social order that governs their actions, the standard of values that directs the policies of their nations, the tensions between their faith and their nations, and the clash of loyalties so frequently involved in an acceptance of the Christian faith. Every Church to-day must see its evangelistic task over against this background of a secular world with its intensive nationalism, its ideologies, and its ambitions. Looked at in this way, evangelism to be effective demands a united Church. If this is not immediately possible the next step to it must be taken, namely, the united planning and working in co-operation together of all Christian forces. The greatest spiritual hindrance to evangelism is the distrust of different Churches one of another and the refusal by many to act unselfishly in seeking to co-operate with others. Because

we are sub-Christian in our attitude to other Churches, we delay revival and hinder the work of God. To see our task therefore is to see it as something bigger than ourselves, bigger than our own Churches, demanding larger loyalties than our particular ecclesiastical loyalties, a task beyond the resources of any one Church in the world, a task that must remain unfinished until a united Church faces a whole world with the claims of Christ. We in our generation have lived to see the old paganisms, defeated and forgotten many generations ago, lifting up their heads in challenge to the whole Christian position. This era of god-makers constitutes for the Church a great summons to a new and larger evangelism.

Consider too the relative proportion of Christians and non-Christians. The population of the world is computed to be 1,958,000,000, of whom no less than 1,370,000,000 are non-Christian. Figures such as these are staggering, for they show that the growth of the Church is not keeping pace with the growth of the world's population. This may sound hopeless, but on the contrary, it is full of hope for two reasons. First, the Churches to-day in all the world are assuming corporate responsibility for evangelism and this gives as witnesses to the Christian faith not only the professional pastors, catechists, and teachers, but also the entire membership of the Church, mobilized on a world scale to proclaim the Gospel; and second, by the Church we mean the lay folk of the Church as much as the clergy. We face our task therefore by summoning to action all members, clerical and lay, professional and honorary. But to do this we must make clear to the whole Christian community that we do recognize the lay priesthood of the people and their responsibilities for spiritual duties. They are as much the Church as the

clergy, but although they are more acutely aware of this supreme task than are many of the clergy, yet they are often not vocal because they find no outlet for their spiritual service.

In pleading for a larger evangelism we plead for a conception of the Church at work through all its members, expressing itself in multiform ways and giving its witness in all realms of life. However much the clergy may lead in the Church's life there is always a clearly marked line of division between leadership and lordship. Christ is Lord and as such He demands service from all who follow Him. Every member of the Church in facing the task must own a direct as well as a supreme allegiance to Christ. We see this on the human plane as we realize how the youth of Germany is captured by Hitler and the youth of Italy by Mussolini. But for the Church there is only One in all the world worthy to be Duce, Führer, and Lord, and He is bidding to-day for the hearts of men. Evangelism must mean that in Christ we have a Leader Who will help and redeem humanity. We are engaged in warfare, in a fight against sin, evil, greed, selfishness, and all that goes to make up our modern material world, but too often we cry: "Lord, Lord," and do not obey His behest.

On the international scale evangelism has a new meaning. Jesus Christ is Lord of nations as well as of individuals. We have had striking illustrations in recent years of how a whole nation can be moulded to the will of a single strong personality, provided all the avenues of education are controlled and all cultural processes are made to serve as propaganda. A simple people with bows and arrows, the Japanese, were changed in three generations into one of the world's greatest military

powers. Fascism defies the State and therefore seeks to make everything, religion included, subservient to it.

But in all this where does the Church come in? The answer from some may be: it does not come in at all unless it accepts a position of servitude to State policy. Again therefore we assert that Christ is Lord. Collective and national movements need not be unChristian. The task of the Church is not to abandon these world forces but to Christianize them and to harness them ultimately to the service of Christ.

This all serves to emphasize the urgency and magnitude of the unfinished task before us. Dr. Hensley Henson, in his Gifford Lectures for 1936, spoke eloquently of the heroism of those who in the past century had volunteered for missionary service. He said:—

The tradition of heroism does not perish. It flows ever through the nation swollen by a thousand contributions of personal service, a stream of holy and gracious influences, fertilizing character and beautifying life.

And be it remembered that for every foreign missionary of the nineteenth century there are to-day tens and hundreds of thousands of Christians, nationals of the countries to which missionaries were originally sent, who are bearing witness to the faith. Where there was once a single lonely missionary, to-day in many areas there is a strong, growing, witnessing Church, and the life and work of the missionary has been multiplied in his spiritual children who carry on the work. We view therefore our missionary enterprise filled with hope because the Church takes up its task and carries on the work. We view it with hope because the emphasis passes from

the individual to the community. This is probably an epoch-making period in history because it marks the most notable advance that Christianity has made since the Reformation. While the missionary purpose and the message of the Gospel is fundamentally the same as in the first century, namely, to tell all men that Jesus Christ is both Saviour and Lord, and while we shall judge every missionary activity by its effectiveness in conveying this message, yet we see the implications of the Christian faith as reaching all types of life, all realms of thought, and all conditions of men. Religion ultimately, if it is to be permanent, must become communal, and this is realized in Christianity through the Church and the fellowship it offers. That is why evangelism in the next decade and beyond must be expressed by corporate witness and must be ready to handle collective movements of large communities to the Christian faith.

IV

The Church to be will fulfil this task in proportion to its essential quality, its spiritual life, and its corporate worship. Brother Lawrence tells us "that his view of prayer was nothing else but a sense of the presence of God, his soul being at that time insensible to everything but divine love."¹ The Madras Conference affirmed that a Church's witness was the product of its worship. From the first day when a group of converts are baptized, the element of worship must enter into their life. It is difficult for us with our background to understand such a psychological upheaval as, shall we say, when an Indian outcaste breaks away from the terrors of a thousand and

¹ *The Practice of the Presence of God*, p. 21.

one evil spirits and begins to worship the one God as his Father. Strength and understanding come to the worshipper as he finds others in his village worshipping in the same way, and what began as a community movement is continued as the corporate life of the Church. Because of this everything that is done is collective and corporate. The worshipper is poles apart from our western individualism, and worship in church means a communion with God and a fellowship with his brother man. Worship of God in Christ brings to the believer, whether African, Asiatic, or European, a conception of God that is ever being adjusted and corrected as the worship deepens. The words of the Exhortation in our Prayer Book give two primary objects of worship: (1) "To render thanks for the great benefits we have received at his hand," and (2) "to set forth his most worthy praise." The motive for worship is not primarily to serve better or to witness, but to subordinate all life to the one supreme will of God. The Psalmist expresses this:—

O God, thou art my God; early will I seek thee;
My soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee,
So have I looked upon thee in the sanctuary,
To see thy power and thy glory. (*Ps. lxxiii. 1, 2.*)

Worship is a self-offering: "All things come of Thee and of Thine own have we given Thee."

When we seek to interpret this in terms of the Universal Church as we see it operating in many lands, we are faced with the same problem as the apostles as they understood "the care of all the churches." It was the anxiety lest in the founding of the Christian communities they should fail to understand the meaning of worship, and so fail to find directly and for themselves

the spiritual resources of God. Worship is not only an offering to God, it is also in turn a new relationship with God through which His grace, His love, and His power are made available to the worshipper. Borrowed spiritual experience, whether borrowed from missionary or pastor, leads inevitably to a lowered spiritual vitality and a consequent loss in the quality of the Church, in its witness and the reality of its life.

It was because of this that the Madras Conference in its forward-looking survey dealt with this subject of worship in considerable detail, as a primary task to be faced if the Church is to develop healthily. The Report says:—

Christian worship is firmly based on the divine revelation in Christ and the redeeming act that took place in history. It is therefore the thankful response of sinful children to the holy, forgiving Father into Whose living presence they enter in their Saviour's Name. It carries within itself penitence and the forsaking of sins, faith and obedience, love and adoration. . . . Corporate worship is the natural expression of our incorporation into the family of Christ.¹

True as this is, worship by a community is real as it becomes incarnate in words and acts, and for this reason these young Churches will increasingly learn the richness of new modes of expression, and at the same time they will appreciate in a new way the heritage of ancient and tried devotion.

The mission fields reflect the worship of the mother Churches. In the case of the Anglican Church, they

¹ *The World Mission of the Church*, pp. 63, 64.

possess the literal translation in many cases of our Prayer Book, even including the Preface! But in this new day, experiment and elasticity in worship are necessary. At Madras we found that most countries wanted ordered forms of dignified devotion, but they also sought for spontaneous expression in prayer and the practice of united silence before God. "We have seen," says the Report, "that the use, by every worshipping group, of its native heritage of speech and posture, of verse and music, of craftsmanship and architecture, not only helps to make Christ's Church the true home of men, but should be the offering of each nation's gifts to the crucified and risen Lord."¹ Our divisions have prevented us from realizing that many of the ancient treasures of Christian worship, as well as some that are modern, are a part of the heritage of the whole Christian family and may therefore become at home in any land.

It is important that we should note the new emphasis in so many of the younger Churches upon intensive spiritual training through Bible schools, refresher courses, and other methods. Many of these Churches give large parts of their grants and funds to make possible the training of all members of their community. They are brought in groups to a centre, pastors and their wives, lay evangelists, teachers, voluntary workers, church leaders, young men and women, Sunday-school teachers. All are taught in small classes, and it is a remarkable fact that where such methods have been adequately tried, these Churches have grown not only stronger but more effective in their witness and in self-support. They have expanded rapidly and have reflected in life and word what they have learnt in their specialized training. The

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

coming days will demand a searching inquiry into the methods being adopted for building up these Churches. In some cases the methods adopted before the Churches came into being are still in use, and money which ought to be spent upon the training of the Church in worship, witness, and religious education is being used in far less productive ways. Similarly missionaries are often deflected from work of vital importance in training converts to institutional work that has little or no relationship to the Church.

This question of intensive training must occupy an increasingly important position in missionary policy. Missions that have become largely institutionalized will be summoned to relate all they are doing to the Churches they seek to serve. As we see the unfinished task of evangelization through an indigenous, worshipping, and witnessing Church the horizon widens. We see more clearly our part in that task as we who are members of the older Churches seek to share our heritage in the Gospel with the younger Churches, and for us both to share all we have discovered with the Church Universal.

V

We see, however, this task of an increasing, ongoing Church fulfilling God's purpose in all the world as we discover its realization in the Kingdom of God. Our Lord called out His Church for the sake and service of the Kingdom. On this the Madras Report says:—

For Christ, the Kingdom of God was central. He called His followers to seek first God's Kingdom and His righteousness. Through the acceptance of

His call to suffering love and through trust in divine help, men are summoned to be co-workers with Him for the increase of justice, truth, and brotherhood upon earth. His Kingdom is both within and beyond this world. It will be consummated in the final establishment of His glorious reign of love and righteousness when there shall be a new heaven and a new earth where death and sin shall be no more.¹

Thus is summed up the outreach of an evangel which the New Testament describes as the "Everlasting Gospel." It is as eternal as God Himself, for the Kingdom is not some human scheme which we devise because the Gospel has come to us. The Kingdom of God is His gift to man. It is the fruit of a truly witnessing Church, but it also comes down out of heaven. We cannot separate the Kingdom from God, for it expresses all that God is in His dealings with mankind, all He reveals of His character and will, all we know of His attitude to man, all His purposes for His reign upon earth, for by the Kingdom of God we understand the reign of God on earth, in which He is acknowledged by all races and kindred and peoples and tongues to be King of kings and Lord of lords. The world is full of illustrations of this vision, at present only partially realized, but none the less an earnest or foretaste of things to come. Men have ever connected greatness with power and influence with force, and Christ through His Church is bringing to the world the ideals of love, patience, forbearance, and forgiveness, ideals that bring liberation to slaves and freedom to the oppressed. What Wilberforce did in his battle against slavery is being carried out to-day by

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

every worker in a leper colony, by every doctor who brings relief to body and mind, and by every ambassador of the Gospel who proclaims liberty to the captive. We have seen how true this is among outcastes in India and the pagans in Africa. What we are only beginning to see is that the Church of God, now universal, is fulfilling its mission in building up the Kingdom of God in all the world. That is why we speak of the *Church* as the hope of the world, because in the mind of God it expresses corporately all that He wills in the new creation of the human race. Thus our horizons will widen until we see the Kingdom of God without frontiers, bringing a new relationship of equality and brotherhood between man and man through new moral standards, creating in all men a new attitude of unselfishness to life, giving men a new enlightenment of the human mind that brings with it liberation from fear and superstition as men learn through Christ of the Father—God. Thus will come a new conception of God, in which men see Him as real, manifestly active in human life and its affairs. Here then God offers to the world a way of life that finds its centre in Christ, a way that overthrows all barriers of race and colour, that knows no distinctions of caste or class, that makes impossible war between any one branch of God's family and another.

Perpetual peace is not an end in itself. If it were, totalitarian powers would be right in calling it a myth. No, within the family of God it is merely a condition of life. The elements of virility and strength in the family do not require hatred and bloodshed to keep them from decay. The family spirit will be one of service and self-sacrifice and love until these warring elements of world life are subdued and the broken harmony of the family

of God is restored. The Church of God is indeed the key to the world situation. Never has it had such an opportunity of fulfilling its ministry of reconciliation. Yet at this time it is also faced, as we have seen, with great and growing dangers which threaten to engulf it. Is it not therefore a tragedy that at such a time the Church should be divided and the Body of Christ broken?

We have seen how the Christian Gospel works in personal redemption through the Cross, how it works in the creation of a collective fellowship through the Church, how it works on a world scale because the Church is now universal. But what we cannot yet see is how the Church can become united once more and in a new unity stand forth in a world of hate for the love that is of God, in a world of force for the peace God offers to mankind, in a world of fear for the faith that makes God real, and in a world of doubt for the hope that is in the Gospel. We are summoned to unite because we are trustees of a message of redeeming love. The vision before us of the Church, united, witnessing, and serving the world is thus expressed by the Madras Conference:—

For those that are without Christ, the true Church yearns with the love of its Master and Lord. It goes forth to them with the evangel of His grace. It practises His ministry of compassion and healing. It bears witness against every iniquity and injustice in their common life. It bears their sorrows and heart-aches on its prayers. To it is given the solemn privilege of entering into the fellowship of the sufferings of Christ. In spite of all the weakness and shortcomings of our Churches, Christ's true

Church is within them and our hope for the redemption of mankind centres in His work through them, through the nurture and discipline of the Church, Christian life comes to completion; in glad service within the fellowship of the Church, Christian devotion is perfected.¹

“Thy Kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting Kingdom”; the prophecy of the inscription on the mosque of Damascus comes true as the Church unites to bring in the Kingdom, because “the kingdoms of this world are become the Kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ; and He shall reign for ever and ever.”

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

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